Mewar State and Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D. : A Historical Study

मेवाड़ राज्य और 1857 का विपल्लव – एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

A Thesis
Submitted for the award of the Ph.D. Degree of

PACIFIC ACADEMY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

BY

Ivan John Fidjern Vas

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Ajat Shatru Singh Ranawat

Professor, Department of History

Faculty Of Social Science & Humanities
Department Of History
Pacific Academy Of Higher Education And Research University, Udaipur

2019

DECLARATION

I, **Ivan John Fidjern Vas**

S/o J.W. Lancy Vas Residing at - House No. 4D, Gunjanan Apartment, Club Road, Bongal Pokhri, Jorhat (Assam) - 785001

hereby declare that the work incorporated in the present thesis entitled

Mewar State and Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D. : A Historical Study

मेवाड़ राज्य और 1857 का विपल्लव – एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

is my own work and is original. This work in part or in full has not been submitted to any university for the award of a Degree or a Diploma. I have properly acknowledged the material collected from original and secondary sources wherever required. I solely own the responsibility for the originality of the entire content.

Place : Udaipur
Date :

Signature of Candidate
Ivan John Fidjern Vas

CERTIFICATE

It gives me immense pleasure in certifying that the thesis entitled

Mewar State and Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D. : A Historical Study

मेवाड़ राज्य और 1857 का विप्लव – एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

and submitted by

Ivan John Fidjern Vas

is based on the research work carried out under my guidance. He has completed the following requirements as per Ph.D regulations of the university.

1) *Course work as per the university rules.*
2) *Residential requirements of the University.*
3) *Regularly submitted half yearly progress report.*
4) *Published accepted minimum of two research papers in the referred research journal.*

I recommend

the submission of Thesis & to be awarded the Degree of Ph.D. in faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities.

Place : Udaipur
Date :

Signature of Supervisor
Dr. Ajat Shatru Singh Ranawat
(Professor) Dept. of History
PAHER University, Udaipur

COPYRIGHT

I, **Ivan John Fidjern Vas**

hereby declare that the Pacific Academy of Higher Education and Research University Udaipur, Rajasthan shall have the rights to preserve, use and disseminate this dissertation / thesis entitled

Mewar State and Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D. : A Historical Study

मेवाड़ राज्य और 1857 का विपल्लव – एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

in print or electronic format for academic / research purpose.

Place : Udaipur
Date :

Signature of Candidate
Ivan John Fidjern Vas

PREFACE

This study comprises the geographical boundaries of Mewar State and is delimited to the political territory of Mewar State during nineteenth century.

The Background:

The Maharanas of Mewar State were graced highest in rank and dignity among the rulers of India and claimed lineage from Lord Rama, King of Ayodhya and the hero of great epic Ramayan. No state made a more courageous or prolonged resistance to the Mughal rulers and it is the pride of this Mewar house that it never gave a daughter in marriage to any of the Muslim emperors.

During sixteen century the boundaries of Mewar extended from Bayana (Bharatpur) in the Malwa (present M.P.) in the south to the Aravali on the west. Rana Sanga (1508 – 1527 A.D.) under whom Mewar reached its political boundaries at its zenith. Even Muslim historians praised the dignity of Rana Sanga. Babar the great Mughal in his memoirs "Baburnama" mentioned that Rana Sanga was the only powerful ruler whom no other Indian king ever defeated.

From 16^{th} Century down to 18^{th} century most of Indian rulers came under the Mughal rule except Mewar state which remained free from the foreign sovereignty. But gradually they came under the protection of East India Company rule and they stayed with them as friends. Attitude of gratitude of Rajaputana towards British for the help in curbing the menace of Maratha's and Pindari's made them support the East India Company than the sepoys who rose against them.

The problem between Rao Sheo Singh and his Feudatories was solved by the company. The help he received from Captain J.D. Hall, political Superintendent of Mewar cemented this relationship.

The Proclamation issued by Colonel George St. P. Lawrence on 23 of May 1857 refuting the rumor of mutiny too helped in the non-participating of many of persons. Mutineers receiving the news of British army approaching India marched towards Delhi.

The sepoy mutiny did make its entry in to Rajasthan. The following places were more affected than others.

1	Nasirabad,	28 May 1857
2	Neemuch,	3 June 1857
3	Erinpura,	21 August 1857
4	Auwa	August, 4, 1857
5	Devli Cantonment,	June 1857
6	Bharatpur,	31 May
7	Alwar,	11 July 1857

However, it did not create the desired effect expected by the mutineers. Instead of taking the shape of war for freedom it remained mutiny against company.

The study about the Impact of British Administrative Policies and Social Reforms in the Mewar State before and after Mutiny makes it clear that the company had a clear support in the region. The Confidence building measures by British regents and Social reforms and spread of education became an immediate outcome of the event. Addressing social evils brought in a desirable change.

Objectives of the Study:

The study was undertaken to

1. To find out the documents related to the topic primary and secondary level sources like “Missing Chapter of Indian Mutiny”, Which were not included in “Blue Book of Indian Mutiny.”

2. To find out the causes and results of Indian Mutiny in the context of Mewar History.

3. To find out the major events related to this topic and also to discuss the contemporary records, reports, official letters, and other local literary sources to draw conclusion.

4. To describe the echoes of revolt of 1857 in special reference to Mewar and its neighboring states like Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh.

5. To find out the role and activities of important personalities like Tantia Tope, and Thakur Khushal Singh of Ahua who fought till the end of Mutiny that was suppressed by the British force.

6. To find out the British Policies and their impacts on social reforms in Mewar State.

7. To illustrate the historical persons and places in Mewar British relation since1818 to 1858.

8. To discuss the British administrative policies and their consequences as

a) Prohibition of Sati.
b) Prohibition of Samadhi, Santhara etc.
c) Extenuations of British Educational System.
d) Land Settlement and other construction work like roads, railway, postal services, health and medical services.
e) Senses work of population, animals, forest etc.

Chapter I

Geographical and The Historical Background of Mewar : An Introduction

Chapter I - Geographical and The Historical Background of Mewar : An Introduction

1.0 Geography of Mewar and Its Physical features during 18th and 19th Century

1.1 Geographical Boundry of Mewar

1.2 Topography of Mewar

1.3 Hills & Valleys in Mewar Region

1.4 Historical Background of Mewar State

1.5 Historical Outline of Udaipur (Mewar)

1.6 Mewar and The British Relation – (1818 – 1857)

1.6.1 Memorandum of claims preferred by the Envoy of the Rana of Oodeypoor to the Resident at Delhie on 1st February, 1818 alluded to in the 7th Article of the Treaty

1.6.2 Purport in English of a Rooqqu from Maha Rana Jawan Singh, dated Fagoon bud ChutSumbut 1891 or February 1835

1.7 Importance and Scope of Study

1.8 Major Objectives of The Proposed Study

1.9 Chapter wise presentation of the research report

1.10 Research Method Used and Techniques

1.10.1 Historical Method

1.10.2 Techniques

CHAPTER – I

Geographical and The Historical Background of Mewar : An Introduction

1.0 Geography of Mewar and Its Physical features during 18th and 19th Century –

During the 18th Century, Mewar, the principal Rajput state in India was bound on the North by the district of Ajmer; on the East by the states of Bundi, Tonk and the Districts of Jawad and Neemuch; on the south by Pratapgarh, Banswara, Dungarpur and Idar; and on the West by Sirohi and Marwar. The length was approximately 120 miles from north to South and had an average breadth of 90 miles from East to West. It was twice as broad towards the South as it is at the North[1].

The total area of Mewar was about 10,800 square miles, of which 6,300 square miles, was plain country land on the table land of central India; and the remaining 3,500 square miles was hilly and mountainous. The population may be reckoned at 16, 35,000 people: 6, 30,000 inhabiting the plain country and 1, 05,000 the hills. This number is smaller than what is usually estimated, but the extent of the hilly portion and the scantiness of its population are generally not known. The table land is elevated, and covers the Northern portion of the country as far South as $24^0$30' N. Latitude, where there is sudden fall ; the edge of the table land extending a distance of 60 miles nearly due East and West, from the plains of Malwa, to the Aravali Mountains. At its greatest elevation, the table land is about 2,000 mtr. above the level of the sea, and has a very gradual slope towards the North East, as indicated by the

course of the rivers **Banas** and **Berach**, which flow through it in their course to the Bay of Bengal. To the South the drainage is towards the Gulf of Cambay, the descent of the Mahi River is very rapid, and the country is broken into numerous low ranges of hills, with very narrow valleys between them.

1.1 Geographical Boundry of Mewar –

The Aravali Mountains are within the limits of Mewar, and border the whole province on the West; towards the North, their various spurs enclose Mahirwara; the abode of the plundering, but now happily reclaimed Mahirs; whilst South of the tract, their lofty intricate branches expand over the South Western portion of the territory, which is peopled by aboriginal Bhils, and the almost equally Grassias. These are descendants of tribes of Rajput who held the country before the Sisodiyas conquered Chittaur. A smaller hilly tract is found in the extreme North East of Mewar, inhabited by a daring race called Meenas, the progeny of the Rajput who were driven from Marwar on conquest of that country by the Rathores[2].

The table land of Mewar was free from jungle, and had the advantage of a copious supply of good water, generally near the surface. The soil was very fertile, though light. It required much irrigation, but numerous artificial tanks or reservoirs helped to retain the desirable element and to keep the level of the wells high. Many of the embankments of these reservoirs have fallen to decay, but the bunds or dykes of others are very magnificent and imposing works. The agriculture was initial and simple. The crops raised were different in different localities from the variety in the surface and soil. In the plain country cotton, oil seed, jowar, and bajra are the staple rain crops; and barley,

wheat, sugar cane, opium and tobacco are grown in the cold weather. To the South East, where the black mound of the disintegrated trap boulders appears, opium and the “awl” were extensively cultivated. Considerable quantities of cotton were exported to Gujarat, and the culture of tobacco was also increased.

The horned cattle in Mewar were not by any means as fine as those in the neighboring provinces of Gujarat or Marwar; they were, however, very numerous, and there was a large yearly export to Gujarat of such as are reared by the Bhils. The horses were good and remarkably clean-limbed; and from the rocky nature of parts of the country where they were bred, the Mewar horses were very skillful over broken ground, and generally belong to the Chiefs.

1.2 Topography of Mewar –

The agriculture and crops of the hilly portions of the country differ much from that of the plains. The Mahirs of the Mhairwarrah hills, and the Meenas of Jahjpur lived in villages like the more civilized races of India; but Bhils and Grassias of the south and south western hills, resided in “Pals” or congregations of detached houses, each built on separate hillocks at some distance from each other. The cultivation belonging to a family surrounded the homestead, and each “pal” thus covered a large extent of ground. This mode of living, by preventing surprise, gave the people of the tribe greater security from the troops of the native states, who treated them rather as enemies than subjects. The forest on the larger hills nears the ‘pals” was allowed to grow, and in case of attack, the Bhils fled into the cover with their families and cattle. Each homestead was complete in itself, consisting of several houses for grain and cattle within a single enclosure. Many of the Bhil houses were well built, spacious, and

tiled, and far superior to the habitations of the same class elsewhere. The Bhils lived originally in independent communities, each acknowledging their own leader. Those that were conquered by the Mewar sovereigns or chiefs transferred their allegiance to them, whilst the greater portion, which combined with the Grassias, before the entry of the Udaipur family into the country, still remained faithful to those Bhomea Chiefs.

It is uncertain at what period the Grassias[3] first settled in the hills. There appear to have been colonies of Chouhan Rajputs, who, at different times, before the destruction of Champanir near Baroda, established themselves in Mewar. Driven out repeatedly by the Bhils, they at last sacrificed their caste to gain their object; and by taking in marriage Bhil women, gradually mixed with that race and were permitted to rule over them. None of the Grassia Chiefs had ever been subjugated by Mewar. The Bhils and Grassias obeyed the orders of these feudal chiefs, to whom they were devoted. Every endeavor to dispossess them had only resulted in failure; though it had been constantly attempted by the Ranas, who early conquered the valleys, but were effectually kept out of the hills, in which, however, they always found protection and shelter in times of difficulty. The intricate valleys and unhealthy climate of this extensive region, joined with scanty supplies and the harassing and constant attacks of the wild population, in former days, caused the destruction of several imperial armies, and often preserved the independence of Mewar.

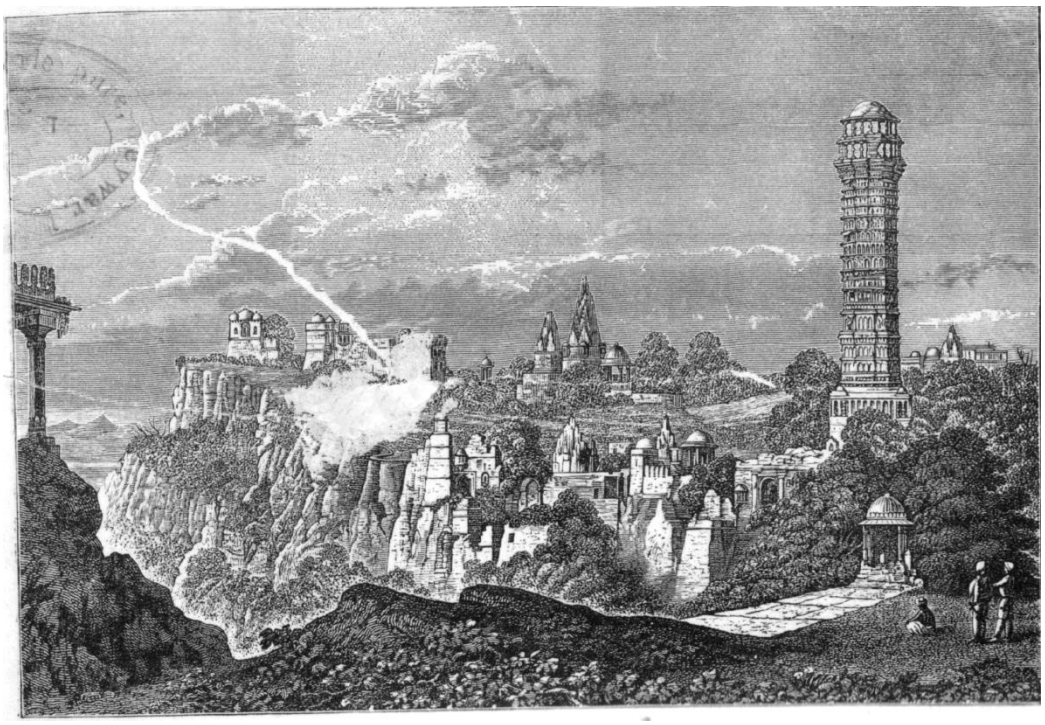
From the absence of level plains in the hill country the gorges and slopes have been embanked up from time immemorial with great labour into successive level steps for agriculture. Rice is the staple crop in these, in the khareef, succeeded by gram in the rabi harvest. Indian corn extensively grown also, but flourishes only on the steep slopes of the smaller hills, as it requires being well drained and manured. Some grains

are sown on the tops of the higher ranges, where the jungle is cut down the burnt, and the seed dibbled in. Such fields last for 3 years only, after which the soil is exhausted, the jungle is again allowed to assume the ascendancy for 10 or 12 years, and a fresh spot is chosen for a repetition of a like species of husbandry. This was very destructive to the forests. Year by year they became thinner and thinner, and it is now difficult to obtain timber of any size, whilst the greater breadth of land brought under cultivation since the Bhils have been induced to abandon their nomadic courses, only increased the destruction of the forests. The more valuable woods, such as teak, Blackwood, ebony, etc which are now disappearing, would grow freely and to a large size, could they be preserved in any way from being sacrificed for these temporary fields.

1.3 Hills & Valleys in Mewar Region –

Everywhere in the hills, the valleys were very narrow, and wheat could only be grown in a few places, along the banks of streams or in the alluvium of lakes. The most extensive valley was in the neighborhood of Salumber, where one of those fine artificial lakes had been formed, for which Mewar is so famous. A magnificent marble bund 2000 feet in length, and 120 feet high, has been thrown across a gorge in the mountains, to arrest the course of the Gomti river, causing it to expand into a noble lake, about 30 miles in circumference, the superfluous waters of which find an exit at the extremity of the range; a rear wall was built of the same length and height as the marble bund, but 300 feet in its rear, it being the intention to fill up the intervening space with earth. This was never done and the two walls stand independently, the marble bund being so beautifully built, as alone to suffice to resist the pressure of the immense body of water in its front without percolation or leakage, the ground below the bund being perfectly dry.

Mewar[4] is rich in minerals. Iron ore covers the Eastern portion of the province, and is smelted in small quantities ; but the rude manner in which this was done, the smallness of the furnaces, and the absence of coal, made the process of manufacture very expensive. The zinc mines of Jawad, 24 miles to south of Udaipur, were very productive, and by supplying revenue to the fugitive Ranas, enabled them to maintain their independence against their Mughal invaders for years after the more fruitful plain country had fallen. Even so late as A.D. 1766, these mines yielded net annual revenue of upwards of 2 lakhs of Rupees. The ore is said to have contained sufficient silver to have paid the expense of working, but the truth of this statement has not been tested: oxide of antimony and lead are found in the same place as the zinc. Copper exists at Chittaur, and agates and other minerals are procured near Bhilwara.



An interior view in Chittore, with the column of victory

1.4 Historical Background of Mewar State –

The faint outlines which can be traced of the condition of the country now called Rajputana, for one or two centuries before the Muhammadans invaded Upper India, indicate that it was subject for the most part to two or three very powerful tribal dynasties. Of these, the dynasty of the Rathor family, which ruled at Kanauj, appears to have had the widest dominion; for the early Arabian geographers make the frontier of Kanauj conterminous with Sind, and Al-Marudi styles the Kanuaj monarch one of the kings of Sind. However this may be, it seems certain that the Kanauj territory extended far westward beyond the Jumna into Rajputana, while much of the south-western part was included within the limits of another great kingdom which had its capital in Gujarat. Other tribal dynasties succeeded ; and in the eleventh century, about the period of the firstMuhasmmadan inroad into the interior of Northern India, the leading tribes were the Solankhyas of Anhilwara in Gujarat, the Chauhans at Ajmer, and the Rathors at Kanauj. The Gehlot clan had established itself in the Mewar country which is still held by the sesodias, a sept of the Gehlots. The Rathors and Sodas held the north western deserts, where they are still dwelling, and the Kachhwaha clan had occupied the eastern tracts about Jaipur, now their chief's capital.

The desert which lies between Sind and Rajputna appears to have sheltered the tribes from any serious inroads of the Arabs who reigned in Sind, but from the north-west their territory was more exposed. Thus the first Musalman invasions found Rajput dynasties seated in all the chief cities of the north and ruling large territories throughout the rich Gangetic plains, at Lahore, Delhi, Kanauj and Ajodhya. Mahmud of Ghazni marched to Kanauj, in 1017 A.D., and reached Muttra ; a few years later he subdued Lahore, and in 1024 he made his celebrated expedition to

Smonath in Gujarat, marching from Muttra across the Rajput countries to Ajmer. The Solankhyas of Anhilwara were overcome ; but the Rajputs barred Mahmud's return by Ajmer, and he was forced to find his way back through the Sind deserts.[5]

In 1170 a furious war broke out between the Solankhyas of Anhilwara and the Chauhans of Ajmer, in which the former were defeated ; and about the same time began the famous feud between the Chauhans and the Rathors of Kanauj. These dissensions weakened the dynasties ; nevertheless when Shahab-ud-din began his invasions, the chauhans fought hard before they were driven out of Delhi and Ajmer in 1193 A.D. Next year Kanauj was taken and the Rathor princes, utterly broken in the Gangetic Doab, emigrated to the country which they have since ruled in North-western Rajputana. But Ajmer was still sharply disputed, though Kutb-ud-din, Shahab-ud-din's Governor in India, managed at last to drive back the tribes, united to contest his occupation of the middle countries, and to force his way through them again into Gujarat. Ajmer and Anhilwara, the former Rajput capitals, were garrisoned by his troops, and the Musalmans appear gradually to have overawed, if they did not entirely reduce, the open country between and about these two places, having garrisoned the fortresses and secured the natural outlets of Rajputana towards Gujarat on the south-west and Jumna on the north-east. The effect was probably to press back the clans more into the outlying districts, where a more difficult and less inviting country afforded a second line of defence against the foreigner, a line which they have held successfully up to the present day. The existing capitals of the modern States indicate the positions to which the earlier chiefs retreated. One clan (the Bhatis) had before this founded Jaisalmer in the extreme north-west, having been driven across the Sutlej by the Ghaznavi

conquerors. The Rathors settled down among the sands of Marwar ; the Sesodias pushed inward from north-east and southwest, concentrating on the Mewar plateau behind the scraps of the Aravalis ; while the Jadauns were protected behind the scraps of the Aravalis ; while the Jadauns were protected by the hills and ravines that lie along the Chambal. From these and other migrations and settlements grew up gradually, with varying features and constantly shifting territory, the States now governed by the Rajput chiefs the non-Rajput States being of a very different and much more recent formation. The larger States represent the acquisitions of the more powerful and predominant clans ; the smaller States are either the separate conquests of a sept that parted company from the main clan or the appanage of some chief who set up independently. They have all, in fact, a very similar origin. When the dominant families of a clan lost their dominion in the fertile regions of the north-west, one part of the lcan seems to have remined in the conquered country, while another part, probably the defeated Chief's kinsmen and followers, went off westward and carved out another, though much poorer, dominion. They were gradually hemmed up into parts of the country productive enough to yield food and rent, and defensible against the great armies of the foreigner. Having them made a settlement and built a city of refuge, each clan started on an interminable course of feuds and forays, striving to enlarge its borders at the cost of its neighbour. When the land grew too strait for the support of the Chief's family and of the increased clan, a band would assemble under some new leader and go forth to plant itself elsewhere. In this way the whole of Rajputana appears to have been parted off among the clans which we find there now, and the territories that have been gradually rounded off and consolidated by incessant friction are now called States, under the rule of the Chief of the clan dominant. Of course the original type of tribal dominion has been modified ; towns have

grown up round the ancient forts, and the Chiefs have, in some instances, modernized their status towards the likeness of a territorial king. Nevertheless, on the whole, these States are still essentially the possessions of clans, and, as such, can be defined and distinguished territorially ; nor is the political nature or tenure of these States properly intelligible without bearing their origin in mind. Setting aside, then, the two of Jat States and the Muhammadan principality of Tonk, we may describe Rajputana as the region within which the pure-blooded Rajput States have maintained their independence under their own chieftains, and have kept together their primitive societies ever since their principal dynasties in Northern India were cast down and swept away by the Musalman irruption. Of the States of Rajputana, eighteen belong to the first rank in the Empire, being under treaty with the Imperial Government, and of these eighteen, fifteen are still ruled by the Chiefs of Rajput clans or families, two of the other three belonging to Jat families and one to a Muhammadan dynasty. A sixteenth Rajput State is Shahpura which has no treaty with the Empire, and which differs from the others both as to its origin and as to the nature of its political connections ……. The Chief of Shahpura holds his lands by distinct grants from two different superiors, the Rana of Mewar and the Empire. The sixteen Rajput States may be arranged according to the different clans which founded them, and to which the ruling family of necessity belongs in the following manner[6] :-

Caln	Sub-division or sept	State
Rathor	..	Jodhpur (Marwar).
		Bikaner.
		Kishangarh.
		Mewar (Udaipur)
		Banswara
Sesodia		Dungarpur
		Pratabgarh
		Shahpura
	Hara	Bundi
Chauhan		Kotah
	Deoria	Sirohi
		Karauli
Jadaun	Bhati	Jaisalmer
		Jaipur
Kachhwaha	Naruka	Alwar
Jhala		Jhalwar

The small Chiefships of Khetri in the Shaikhwati district of Jaipur is held on a double tenure of the same kind as that of Shahpura ; as the chief holds one part of his territory, the pargana of Kot Putli, by a grant made on behalf of the British Government by Lord Lake in 1803 and subsequently confirmed as a free gift in perpetuity. On the eastern border of Rajputana, beyond the States of Bundi and Kotah, are seven estates called the seven Kotris held by seven Rajput families of the Hara clan which belong to a peculiar political arrangement …… …… There are of other minor Chiefs of similar

class in different parts of Rajputana, who claimed some kind of privileged status and separate jurisdiction under the ruling power of the State within which their lands are included. This claim is usually by virtue of having descended from a distant stock, or of having originally conquered and maintained their lands without aid or commission from the state's ruler, but on their own score and venture ; they nevertheless pay tribute to the State's Chief and are subject to his general authority. Such are the chiefs of Sikar in Jaipur, of Nimrana in Alwar, of Fatehgarh in Kishangah (though he pays no tribute) and of Kushalgarh in Banswara though the last mentioned Chief (who also holds lands of Ratlam) has been withdrawn from direct subordination to Banswara. The Bhil Chiefs of the Mewar hill tracts belong to a slightly different category, though they assert internal independence of Udaipur ; and the Thakur of Lawa, a small feudatory, has, for peculiar reasons, been declared separate from Tonk to which he was subordinate up to 1870. Besides these minor or mediatised Chiefships, there are other gradations of status and privilege ; but their classification becomes indistinct as it descends, shading off into the great estate-holder and head of a branch family of the Chief's blood with high rank and formal hereditary privileges rather than separate political jurisdiction.

The remaining three States of the first class, not being under Rajput Chiefs, are of a different origin and growth. The State of Tonk was formed out of the convention which allowed the famous Amir Khan to hold certain lands which he possessed in 1817 ; it consists of six separate districts, of which three only are within the administrative province of Rajputana. The Jat States of Bharartpur and Dholpur are the other two ; the first is governed by the descendant of the bold and adroit land-holders, who raised themselves to the rank and power of territorial Chiefs

during the confusion of the eighteenth century ; the second, Dholpur, is the territory remaining with a familythat had gained distinction earlier, though it first acquired political independence in the same century and under similar circumstances. But, whereas the Bharatpur Chief kept his territory intact, circumstances. But whereas the Bharatpur Chief kept his territory intact, and even increased it during the contest between the Maharattas and the English at the beginning of this century, the Dholpur Chief in the same period lost a great part of his acquisitions. These two States, lying as they do outside Central India, did not fall within the range of the treaties of 1817-18. These States, therefore, are governed each by a family of the Jat tribe, which gives to that particular tribe a sort of precedence and privilege in the States ut their constitution is by no means trible in the meaning with which that word applies to the territory of a Rajput clan. In Tonk the descendant of Amir Khan is an autocratic Nawab of the ordinary Indian type.

It has been explained that the existing Rajput States trace their historic descent from the ancient tribal settlements in this part of India ; and as they differ in origin from the great majority of States in other parts of the Empire, so do they in political constitution. A Rajput State, where its peculiar structure has been least modified, means the territory over which a particular clan or division of a clan claims dominion for its Chief and political predominance for itself by right of occupation or conquest. A Rajput Chief is the head of a clan which have for many centuries been lords of the soil, or of the greater part of it, lying within the State’s limits, and, as a ruler, instead of being an absolute despot, he exercises a jurisdiction more or less limited over an aristocracy consisting principally of his kinsmen and connections, while in the cities and throughout the districts not within the estates of the great fief-holders his authority is

absolute. In the Western States, where the original type is best preserved, the dominant clans are still much in the position which they took up on first entry upon the land; and there we find all the territory (with exceptions in favour of particular grantees) still parcelled out among the Rajputs, mainly among the branch families of the dominant clan and their offshoots …… All over the west it would be difficult to find a single important estate not held by a Rajput. The supreme governing authority in a Rajput State is, of course, in the hands of the hereditary Chief of the dominant clan, who is supposed to be the nearest legitimate descendant in direct male line from the founder of the States, according to the genealogy of the tribe ……. But even primogeniture has been required to qualify up to a low standard of competency ; and when direct heirs fail, the Chief may be chosen from any branch of the stock group, the choice sometimes going from one branch to another according to critical needs and circumstances. The right of adoption by a Rajput Chief of his successor according to law and customs, on failure of natural heirs fail, the Chief may be chosen from any branch of the stock group, the choice sometimes going from one branch to another according to critical needs and circumstances. The right of adoption by a Rajput Chief of his successor according to law and customs, on failure of natural heirs, has been formally recognised by the British Government …… When the succession is disputed, the Imperial Government is often forced to step in and arbitrate and decide. The interior economy of a complete Rajput family has often suggested the analogy of feudalism, though in fact there are essential differences. There is, however, a chain of mutual authority and subordination which runs from the Chief by gradations downwards to the possessor of one or more villages. The lands are for the most part divided off and inherited among the branch families of the dominant clan, some considerable estates being held by families of the different clan who

have come in by marriage or by anterior settlement in the country. Very large estates are held by the hereditary heads of the branch septs which have spread out from the main stock and by kindred families which are as boughs to the great branches ….. These estates are owned and inherited by Chiefs, who much resemble the State Chief in miniature, where they are strong and independent. The relations of these minor Chiefs to the State Chief differ very much in different States ; in the best preserved States of the west and south –west they exercise almost complete jurisdiction each within his own domain proper : and their obedience to any unusual command of the State Chief depends on his power to enforce it. They pay him certain dues or assessed contribution rated upon their income and regulated by immemorial custom; they are bound to render military service against the foreigner and against rebels, to make additional emergent contributions in war time ; and their lands are usually rated at so many horsemen or footmen to be furnished yearly for the ordinary public service. The number of followers to be maintained may depend on the value of the land and upon the rank and consequence of the estate-holder. At every succession to an estate the heir is bound to do homage to the Chief and to pay a fine of some value – these acts being essential to entry into legal possession of his inheritance. He also pays some customary dues of a feudal nature and is bound to personal attendance at cetain periods and occasions. In the States of the west, belonging to the Rathor and Sesodia clans, the domains of all the subordinate Chiefs are rated at a certain valuation of annual rent – roll ; and for every thousand rupees a certain number of armed men must be provided for the State's service. In some States this service has been commuted for cash payments, but the great land-holders have usually resisted this change, which obviously tends to increase the Chief's power and to lesson their own. Disobedience to a lawful summons or order

involves sequestration of lands, if the Chief can enforce it ; but it is rare that an estate is confiscated outright and annexed to crown lands, as the whole federation of minor Chiefs would be against such an absorption if there were any practical alternative. So long as the minor Chiefs fulfil their customary obligations, they hold their estates on conditions as well founded and defined as those on which the ruling Chief governs his territory, and their tenure is often just as ancient, and their authority, within their own limits, often as absolute.[7]

In fact the system upon which the land is distributed among the branch families and other great hereditary land-holders, is the basis of the political constitution of a Rajput State and forms its characteristic distinction. And this system is not, speaking accurately feudal, though it has grown in certain States into something very like feudalism. The tenure of the great clansmen involves military service and payment of financial aids, but its sources is to be found in the original clan occupation of the lands and in the privileges of kinship and purity of descent from the original occupants or conquerors. The subordinate Chiefs really claim to be co-partners with the rulers in their right to dominion over the soil and to the fruits of it. Of course this constitutional principle has been much changed in practice in many of the States, especially since the Maharattas disorganized Rajputana at the end of the last century. In the Eastern Rajput States, which were most exposed to the attacks of Mughal, Mahratta and Pathan, the clan system has been much effaced politically, and some Chiefs have centralized their power so as to obtain almost absolute jurisdiction over the whole of their territories ; moreover, the Rajputs are very few among the population of some of these States. In Kotah the clan system was almost extinguished by Zalim Singh, who brought the land mainly under deirect fiscal management and

substituted his own aremed police for the feudal contingents. In Bundi some relations of the Chief still hold large grants, but without any indepent jurisdiction. Bharatpur and Dholpur are Jat States in which the Chief's power is supreme, and in the Muhammadan State of Tonk the Rajpur land holders have been inevitably depressed while the Government is of the ordinary Muhammadan type. So that, whereas in the north and west a ruling Chief would hardly break through the compact front which his clansmen could at once oppose to any serious political encroachment and has a dubious jurisdiction within the domains of his leading kinsmen, in the east and south a chief has his State more or less directly under his own executive power and a people of whom his clansmen form a small part. In the small Eastern State of Karuli, however, the clan system is still vigorous.

Around and below the great minor Chiefs and families are the kinsfolk, who belong to the same sept of the clan, and who hold land more or less extent, either independently of their head or on a sort of grant from him. In Western Rajputana there are large tracts of lands held by groups of Rajput proprietors, who represent a settlement anterior to, or at least coeval with, that of the dominant clan, which settlement may have been either that of and alien clan that has kept its lands undisturbed, or of a distinct sept belonging to the ruling clan. Some of the alien clans have been brought in later by marriage alliances or by having come as contingent to aid the Chief of the country in some hard-fought war or distant expedition, services for which they received an allotment of land. The heads of these alien families often hold high rank in the State …….

The administrative business of a State usually falls into several different departments which are under hereditary officials – a very

important class, of which the members almost always belong to particular castes and families – rarely to a Rajput clan. In some States the highest offices belong by heritage to a great kinsman of the Chief ; though these offices are apt to become honorary, as they have become in Europe and the real power gets into the hands of very acute instruments of the Chief's good pleasure. It is often imprudent to place much authority in the hands of a leading noble, nor are the Thakurs usually qualified for the transaction of affairs, while they would rather look down upon official duties unless accompanied by very substantial rank and influence. In fact, the condition of internal government in Rajputana much resembleswhat has passed in Europe, the ruler seeks to strengthen himself at the cost of the nobles, the nobles are on the watch against the encroachments of the ruler ; and the officials are the astute men of business the gens de la robe of Europe, expert in law and finance, whose aid in such times has always ben so essential to the ruler …… As the tendency of all office in Rajputana is to become hereditary, and as the right of the children and relations of an official to be provided for in the public service is universally recognized, the Chief's always surrounded by a crowd of qualified claimants ……. Several of the official families are descended from persons of the writing commercial castes who accompanied the earliest immigration of the ruling Chiefs into the country.

The great estate-holders, called the Thakurs, live most of the year in their forts on their own lands, and in the west they manage their own domains with little State interference, distributing justice and collecting their taxes and rents. When wome complainant has interest enough to get an appeal seriously taken up at headquarters, or when some disorder or deed of notorious violence has created scandal, the ruling Chief interposes vigorously, though the matter is usually settled by a fine or a

present. Where the Thakurs are most independent, they go little to Court, though there is usually a fixed period when each man of rank is bound to attend on his Chief, and on great occasions they all assemble.

Where their separate status and power have been much reduced, they gravitate towards the level of privileged courtiers, whose places in the Chier's presence and at ceremonies are regulated by very minute etiquette. But a turbulent nobel of the old school does not much enjoy a visit of Court, where there are usually long outstanding accounts to settle with astute officials ; he goes there well attended by kinsfolk, and fences himself in his town house, where he occasionally stood a siege in the last generation, and was sometimes murdered. It may be said that all the internal disorders of Rajputana since 1818, which were serious and widespread, up to recent years, have been caused entirely by disputes between the ruling Chiefs and their nobles ; the Chiefs striving to always depress and break down the power of the great kinsmen, the nobles being determined to restrict the strength of their ruler. The Mahratta invasion and usurpations had much diminished the strength of the State's ruler ; on the other hand, the English supremacy is favourable to him and the inclination of an English Government is naturally toward support of the central administration. Nor has time of armed resistance by nobles to their Chief yet passed away in the west and south –west, where a Thakur will still, if aggrieved, hold out as long as he can in the ancestral fort, and if the fort is made too hot for him take to the wilds with his kinsmen and become an outlaw and leader of Banditti. Usually these proceedings end in compromise end reconciliation.

1.5 Historical Outline of Udaipur (Mewar)[8] –

The Sisodia clan of Rajputs in descended from Kusha, son of Rama, the legendary king of Oudh, whose descendants emigrated in A.D. 145 from the Punjab to Gjuarat, where they reigned till their capital, Balabhi, near the present city of Bhavnagar, was destroyed by an invasion of foreigners in A.D. 524. In the course of the flight of the family, a prince was born near Mount Abu, who afterwards reigned at Idar, which was held by his descendants till the Bhils rose and killed their ruler.His son, Bapa, was preserved and removed to Nagindra (now called Nagda) 13 miles to the north of the modern Udaipur. Eventually he took up his residence with the Mori Chief of Chitor, then the overlord of Malwa Later on, he led the Chitor forces against the Muhammedans from Sind, defeated them, and ultimately made himself master of Chitor in A.D. 734 with the title of Rawal, and founded the Kingdom of Mewar.

Kurna or Karan Singh succeeded in 1193, His son, Mahap, proved unworthy and retired into the western hills where he became the founder of the Dungarpur and Banwara line. His cousin, Bharat, was driven from Chitor by the Sonigara chief of Jhalor, who had married Karan Singh's daughter, and retired to Sind. Chitor was, however, recovered by his son, Rahap, in 1201, and he changed the name of the dynasty to Sisodia and the title from Rawal to Rana. This latter change was in honour of having defeated Mokal, the Parihar Prince of Mandor, who bore the title of Rana and was compelled to renounce not only the title but the district of Godwar.

In the interval of half a century between Rana Rahap and Rana Lakshmi (Lakshman Singh) 9 princes were placed on the gadi, 6 of whom fell in battle, and Chitor was lost and recovered. Lakshman Singh

Succeeded in 1275 and it was during his reign. In 1203, that Chitor was taken and sacked by Alauddin. During this siege the Johar occurred and twelve princes of the house sacrificed their lives including the Rana himself, his eldest son (Ursi or Ari) and all his other sons, except the second, Ajai singh, who excaped to Kelwara, from Whence he ruled as Rana over the surrounding hilly country.

Ajai Singh's nephew Hamir Singh I (1351-1364), re took Chitor which was held by his father in law, Maldeo, Chief of Jhalor, for the Muhammedans. Hamir Singh was regarded as the leading prince of the central protion of India until his death. In the reign of Rana Laksh Singh or Lakha (1382-1397), the Mewar gadi passed from the elder to the younger branch of the family, the Rana having taken to wife a princess of Marwar with the promise that any son born of the marriage should succeed to Mewar, to the exclusion of the elder son, Chonda. A child, Mokul, being born, Chonda resigned all his rights in Mokul's famour reserving to himself the first place in the council of the State and stipulating that his symbol, the lance, should be super – added to that of the prince in all grants. Chonda is the ancestor of the Rawats of Salumbar and of the other Chondawat families. Kumbha (1433 – 1468) succeeded Mokul. He built about 32 fortresses and several buildings including the Kumalgarh fort and the Kirti Stambh (Tower of Fame) at Chitor. The latter was built in 1440 in commemoration of his success over the Muhammedan ruler of Malwa. Uda succeeded to the gadi after assassinating his father, Kumbha. In return for the help given by the Chief of Jodhpur, he ceded the districts of Ajmer and Sambhar to Jdhpur. He made the Deora prince of Sirohi, who was subordinate to Mewar, independent and considered the betrothal of his daughter to the emperor of Delhi. This marriage, however, did not take place. Uda was deposed in

A.D. 1474 and his brother, Rai Mal, Succeeded him. Suraj Mal, who was the son of Khema Karan, brother of Kumbha, retired about this time to Deolia where he founded the State of Partabgarh. Raimal was succeeded by Sangram Singh I or Sanga. Under this sovereign, Mewar reached the Zenith of its prosperity. Sangram Singh, before he was called upon to contend with the house of Timur, had gained sixteen pitched battles against the Muhammedan sovereigns of Delhi and Malwa. In A.D. 1527, how ever, he met Baber in battle at Fatehpur Sikri and died next year. The following reigns of Ratna, at Fatehpur Sikri and died next year. The following reigns of Ratna, Bikramjit and Udai Singh were marked by severe struggles with Bahadur Shah, king of Gujarat, and subsequently with the Emperor Akbar. During both these struggles, the Johar sacrifice was performed. On the last occasion Chitor was captured after terrible slaughter and demolished. Udai Singh founded Udaipur, which has since been the capital of Mewar. Udai Singh's successor, Partap, who succeeded in A.D. 1572, was a gallant warrior, who after severe struggles with the Muhammedans succeeded in recovering nearly the whole of Mewar, but not the old capital Chitor. Partap died in A.D. 1597. Ultimately, when Jahangir took the filed in person, Amar Singh I sent his son, Karan, to attend the Emperor's Darbar at Delhi. AS a result of this peace, the Imperial troops were withdrawn from Chitor which thus reverted to the Sisodias. Amar Singh was succeeded in A.D. 1621 by his son, Karan, who reigned only seven years. In A.D. 1628 Jagat Singh succeeded his father, Karan. Rana Raj Singh I succeeded his father, Jagat Singh, in 1653. During his reign the Emperor Aurangzeb imposed a capitation tax, known as Jazia, on all Hindus. Against this the Rana wrote a very wrong letter of protest (which is reproduced in Tod's Rajasthan), where upon Aurangzeb invaded Mewar. Raj Singh defeated the emperor on many occasions and secured Imperial emblems, elephants and

banners. The idol of Shri Nathji was brought to Mewar about this time through fear of Aurangzeb. It is established at Nathdwara, which is a great place of pilgrimage for Hindus. Raj Singh constructed the lake of Rajsamand on the dam of which fine marble palaces, exquisitely carved, have been built.

Rana Jai Singh,[9] who succeeded Raj Singh in A.D. 1681, concluded a treaty with Aurangzeb. He constructed the famous dam of the Dhebar Lake, called after him Jaisamand, one of the largest artificial lakes in the world. Rana Amar Singh II, who succeeded to the gadi in 1698, made a tripartite alliance for mutual defence with the rulers of Jaipur and Jodhpur who stipulated that their houses should again be admitted to the honour of marriage with Mewar, a privilege which they had lost by giving their daughters in marriage to the Moghal Emperors, on condition that the osns of princesses of Udaipur house should in all cases succeed to the throne in preference to elder sons by other mothers, and that daughters, born to Udaipur princesses, should not be given in marriage to Muhammedans. Sangram Singh II succeeded Amer Singh II in A.D. 1716, and was succeeded by Jagat Singh in A.D. 1734. The stipulations, regarding the marriages above referred to, led to constant quarrels and eventually to the Marhattas being called in as arbiters in the affairs of Rajputana. For nearly a century. During the reigns of Jagat Singh II, Partap Singh II, Raj Singh II, Arsi (A.D. 1762). Hamir Ratna and Bhim Singh, Mewar was harassed by Scindhia and Holkar and afterwards by Amir Khan, the Pindari, till in 1818 Maharana Bhim Singh made a treaty with the British Government, by which the latter agreed to protect the territory of Udaipur and to use its best exertions for the restoration of the territories the State had lost, when this could be done with propriety. Maharana Bhim Singh died in 1828 and was succeeded by

his son, Jawan Singh, who reigned till 1838. In default of male issue, the succession went by adoption to Sarder Singh, the Chief of Bagor.Maharana Sardar Singh died in 1842 and was succeeded by his younger brother and adopted son, Maharana Sarup Singh who distinguished himself by his loyal service during the Mutiny. He minted the new coinage known as the Sarupshahi. He died in 1861 and was succeeded by Maharana Shambhu Singh, who was, on his death in 1874. Succeeded by Maharana Sajjan Singh, who was adopted from Bagor and succeeded to the gadi on the understanding that in the case of his natural father Sakti Singh, dying childless the main protion of the Bagor and succeeded to the gadi on the understanding that in the case of his natural father Sakti Singh, dying childless the main portion of the Bagor estate held by him would revert to khalsa. On Sakti Singh's death in 1889 Bagor merged in the State, leaving Netawal and Pilsdhar Thikanas as the sole representatives of the Bagor line in Mewar. Sajjan Singh having died without issue in 1884, the unanimous choice of the family and having died without issue in 1884, the unanimous choice of the family and nobles fell on Fateh Singh, the third son of Maharaj Dal Singh of Sheorati, and adopted son of his brother Maharaj Gaj Singh, Maharana Fateh Singh married twice and had three sons, only one of whom survived infancy. He had five daughters all of whom are now dead. Maharana Fateh Singh died on the 24th May 1930 and was succeeded his only surviving son Maharana Bhupal Singh.

1.6 Mewar and The British Relation – (1818 – 1857) –

It wasn't until the 19th Century when Rajputana's leading clans sought to federate with British India. A deal was brokered by the Maharanas and Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, a special aid to the acting British Governor-General in Delhi.

The reason was entirely practical, since by 1818 Rajputana had been economically ruined by the collapse of Mughal power, repeated invasions from Persia, as well as the resurgent Marathas who wished to carve out their own piece of empire.

Once the British controlled the whole of India, the Rajputs proved willing partners ingoverning the small kingdoms throughout this vast colonial possession. Their usefulness quadrupled as soldiers and allies, while the habits of the Rajput nobility also mixed well with their British counterparts.

Treaties Between the East India Company and Mewar Maharana and the agreements with the Nobles and Chiefs from 1818 to 1857 AD – Based on Documents –

1.6.1 Memorandum of claims preferred by the Envoy of the Rana of Oodeypoor to the Resident at Delhie on 1st February, 1818 alluded to in the 7th Article of the Treaty[10].

1st – The Purgunnah of Neemuch ceded to the Peishwa about fifty years ago when MadhojeeScindia invaded Oodeypoor ; at present in Dowlut Rao Scindia's possession. The nature of this cession is not distinetlystated ; whether as a perpetual alienation, or for a time in pledge for the payment of tribute.

2nd - The Purgunnah of Jeerun ceded to Scindia at the same time, and in the same manner.

3rd – The Purgunnah of Jawud, given two years after, to Scindia in pledge for tribute.

4th – The purgunnahs of Ruttunpoor and Antree given to Scindia in the same manner.

5th – The fort of Koombulmeer with the Purgunnahs of Nullo and Sehra twelve or fourteen years ago. The Killadar of Koombulmeer having revolted, the court of Oodeypoor solicited assistance from Scindia, who sent an army under Juswunt Rao Bhao, which was accompanied by SurdarHumeer Singh Chundawat on the part of Oodeypoor. When the fort was taken, Scindia faithlessly kept possession for himself.

6th – The purgunnah of Rajungurh, foreibly seized, two or three years ago, by BapooScindia and Juswunt Rao Bhao.

7th – The purgunnah of Raipoor, granted to BappoScindia, six years ago, on terms of service which he did not fulfil.

8th – Sungramgurh& c. villages seized by BapooScindia within the last few years.

9th – Kooakherra said to be in possession of LallajeeBillal on the part of Scindia.

10th – The talooka of Gungapoor, in the possession of Scindia for twenty eight years.

11th – Sadree, Khord, Kunwara, &c.villages in the possession of eivil officers of Scindia.

12th – The Purgunnahs of Ranee, Khora, and Neembahera, given to Holkar in pledge for tribute, about fifty years ago. Neembahera subsequently restored by Juswunt Rao Holkar and again seized by his agents.

13th – Villages in the possession of Holkar’s officers, some with and some without the consent of the Rana.

14th – The Purgunnah of Godwar, given to Joudhpoor about forty six years ago in the following manner.

During a revolt of the dependent chiefs of the Oodeypoor state, the Raja of Joudhpoor, Byjee Singh engaged either to quiet the revolt and bring back the disaffected chiefs to obedience, or to furnish five hundred horse in perpetuity for the service of the Rana. In exchange, he received the Purgunnah of Godwar. The Raja of Joudhpoor did not perform any part of his engagements, but increased the disturbances of the Oodeypoor country.

15th – Jeypoor, Sanganeer, & c. in the possession of Kota. Taken possession of fourteen of fifteen years ago by Raj Rana Zalim Singh of Oodeypoor. It is supposed that there will not be any objection to the restitution.

16th – The village of Kotrie, taken possession of about ten years ago by the Raja Rana of Kotah, in consequence of disputes with the Deputy of the Raja of Shahapoora, who held the place in Jageer from the Rana of Oodeypoor.

17th – Jullundhuree & c. villages taken by Raja Rana Zalim Singh in consequence of disputes with the Killadar of Mandulgurh.

Jullundhuree was made over by Raja Rana Zalim Singh to Nowab Umeer Khan.

18th – The village of Deolee taken by the zemindar of Sawar.

19th – Dakool & c. twelve villages taken by the chief of Banswara.

20th – Doongurpoor, Banswara and Deola. It is stated these were formerly dependent on Oodeypoor but have thrown off their allegiance .

21st - Rampoora formely belonged to a dependent of Oodeypoor In consequence of his revolt , an army was sent which expelled him and brought that district under the government of the Rana. It was assigned for his maintenance to Maha Raja Madho Singh, who was a sister's son of the Rana of Oodeypoor and residing at that time at Oodeypoor. On his becoming Raja of Jeypoor he made it over to Mulhar Rao Holkar in lieu of tribute. On account of relationship the place was never demanded from MadhoSingh ; and in consequence of the increasing power of Mulhar Rao, the place has never returned under the government of Oodeypoor, to which it belongs. The Rampoora is supposed to be the one South East of Oodeypoor belonging to Holkar[11].

Such is the scanty account of these claims given by the oodeypoor agent. Much remains to be explained, respecting which the requisite information can be obtained by further enquiries at Oodeypoor, and by references to the other parties concerned, in the cases which may be deemed worthy of attention.

1.6.2 Purport in English of a Rooqqu from Maha Rana Jawan Singh, dated Fagoon bud ChutSumbut 1891 or February 1835[12].

To the nobles, chiefs, foujdars, kamdars, jageerdars, and putacts of Mewar be it known.

1. From henceforth, you are to pay the same chouth, and perform service as usual.

2. On the present occasion you have paid Nuzzurana. Hereafter no unjust demands shall be made on you.

3. Should the bohras or people with whom you have pecuniary transactions be not fair in their dealings, and complaint be made on the subject, the matter will be enquired into and adjusted.

4. Should any complaints be preferred against you, the same shall be referred to you vakeel in attendance on the durbar ; should he be unable to compromise the matter, the pradhan will communicate with you on the subject of such complaints.

5. When agents on the aprt of the chiefs attend on His Highness to make representation, they shall be received according to their respective ranks.

6. Should the Assamees of any of the villages belonging to the chiefs have pecuniary claims on those of the Khalsa, the same shall be duly enquired into and fairly adjusted.

7. Should there be any pecuniary claims of kamdars, mahajuns, & c. belonging to the Khalsa against subjects of the Chiefs, the latter shall see such claims settled.

8. Should any kamdars belonging to the chiefs or others charged with embezzlement seek shelter in the Khalsa, they shall be ordered to render their accounts and satisfy the demands of their masters.

9. In consideration of your having paid nuzzurana, and in accordance with your solicitation you are excused from the performance of twelve months duty this year. In case of any emergency, however, you must attend to perform service.

10. You are to retain possession of bhoom lands which may have been bestowed previous to Sumbut 1822. Lands which you may have taken possession of subsequent to that period, must be restored.

11. Taxes on the marriage of mahajuns belonging to villages of the chiefs which may have been paid into the treasury of the durbar shall be refunded to the chiefs as a matter of favor.

12. Should any kamdars, chakurs and others belonging to the Khalsa take up their adobe in the villages of the chiefs, the latter shall endeavour to persuade them to return.

13. Should any portion of the lands given in charity appertaining to the villages of the chiefs be resumed, in consequence of any offence committed on the part of Brahmans, the same shall revert to the chiefs and not be made Khalsa.

14. No villages or lands belonging to the chiefs shall be confiseated by the durbar without cause.

1.7 Importance and Scope of Study –

The Maharanas of Mewar State were graced highest in rank and dignity among the rulers of India and claimed from lord Rama, King of Ayodhya and the hero of great epic Ramayan. No state made a more caurgeous or prolanged resistance of the Muslim Rulers, and it is the pride of this Mewar house that it never gave a daughter in marriage to any of the Muslim emperors.

During sixteen century the boundaries of Mewar extended from near Bayana (Bharatpur) in the Mlawa (present M.P.) in the south and the aravallis on the west. Rana Sanga (1508 – 1527 A.D.) under whom Mewar reached its political boundaries at its zenith. Muslim historians praised the dignity of Rana Sanga even. Babar the great Mughal in his memoirs “Baburnama”, mentioned that Rana Sanga was only powerful ruler to whom no other Indian king ever defeated.

From 16th Century down to 18th century most of Indian rulers came under the Mughal rule except Mewar state which remained free from the foreign sovereignty. At the time of fall of Mughal power we observe that Marratha power extended its influence in Mughal teriteries and gradually Peshwas, the Maratha chiefs not only took place of the Mughal power, but they collected taxes of other.

(A) Department of History (Faculty of Arts), Pacific University Udaipur (Rajasthan)

(b) Area of Investigation – Mewar State

(c) Delimitation of the Problem –

1) This study comprises the geographical boundaries of Mewar State.

2) This study is delimited to the political territory of Mewar State during nineteenth century.

3) This study is limited to the 19th century of Mewar State.

(d) Terms used and their Definitions –

Mewar State, Nobles of Mewar State, East India Company, AGG, GG, Treaties and Agreements with the British Company and Nobles of Mewar, Malva, Neemuch, Nasirabad, Mount Abu, Ahuo, Aravali Hills, Thikanas, Sardars, Fudellords, Aranpura, Dungerpur, Banswara, Pratapgarh etc.

1.8 Major Objectives of The Proposed Study –

In context of selected topic of study or the research problem emerged from this brief account sited above and main objective of the study are as follows the objectives of the study are spilled out as –

1. To find out the documents related the topic primary and secondary lavel sources of “Missing Chapter of Indian Mutiny, Which were not included in “Blue of Indian Mutiny.”

2. To find out the causes and results of Indian Mutiny in context of Mewar History.

3. To find out the major events related to this topic and also to discuss the contemporary records, reports, official letters, and other local literary sources to draw conclusion.

4. To describe the echoes of revolt of 1857 in special refrence to Mewar and its neighbouring states like Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh and central province [Present M.P. and Idar,Palanpur State[GUJRAT]

5. To find out the role and activities of important personalities like Tantia Tope, and Thakur Khushal Singh of Ahua who fought till the end of Mutiny that was supposed by the British force.

6. To find out the British Policies and their impects on social reforms in Mewar State.

7. To illustrate the historical person and places in Mewar British during the period 1818 to 1858.

8. To discuss the British administrative policies and their consequences as

    1. Prohibition of Sati.

    2. Probhition of Samadhi, Santhara etc.

    3. Probhition of witch swinging.

4. Extentation of British Educational System.

5. Land Settlement and other construction work like roads, railway, postal services, health and medical services.

6. Senses work of population, animals, forest etc.

Keeping in view the above objectives research scholar has finalise and selected the problem of the research work entitle as follows –

"MEWAR STATE AND INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857 : A HISTORICAL STUDY"

1.9 Chapter wise presentation of the research report –

Chpater I : Geographical and The Historical Background of Mewar : An Introduction –

In this chapter an introduction of geographical and the historical background of the mewar is described to understand the research problems or the topic. **Mewar State And The Mutiny of 1857 A.D.** It deals the geography of mewar state, the topography of mewar, natural boundry, hills and valleys, chittaur and the platue of mewar, plains of mewar, Bhomat area of mewar, Aravali mountains, rivers, mines & minerals, agricultures, crops, flora & fona, forest etc.

Chpater II : Echoes of Revolt of 1857 –

In this chapter the factors effecting the Indian Mutiny of 1857, are explained. Despite this out break of Mutiny in Calcutta, Meerath, Delhi, Central India and also in Rajputana is also discussed. Miserable events of the Capital Mughal Emperor his family nobles, poets, merchant, public etc. refered in this chapter. The Last Mughal Emperor Bahadur's life sketch has been describe along with rare photographs.

Chpater III : Mewar State And Indian Mutiny Of 1857 : An Unknown Chapter –

Spread of Mutiny in Rajputana and it effect on Mewar, Role of Salumber, Role of Ahuwa's noble Thakur Khusal Singh against British power to support mutinees. Role of Kotharia, Delwara, Bedla, Gogunda, Nimbahera, Neemuch (Sadari, Rampura, Bansi – Bohida). In this chapter day to day events of Mutiny have been described as narrated by Capt. Shower who curbed Mutiny of 1857 in Central India.

Chapter IV : Role of Tantia Topee in Mewar State Agianst The British –

Role of Tantia Topee in Mutiny of 1857, Role of Mewar Maharana Swaroop Singh and his nobles during Mutiny. Policies and attitude of chief leading families and personalities of Mewar against British Rule. Tantia's coming in Mewar – Kotharia, Nathdwara, Gingla, Sadari, Saloomber, Pratapgarh, Godhi, Banswara, Sabarkantha (Gujarat), Palanpur and Karouli Tantia's end.

Chapter V : Conculsion, summry and suggestions for futher research –

This chapter deals major finding, conculsion and summry of the study. It also comprises the major terms and technical words used and study. This chapter is a summry in brief, of the data and documents related to the topic, analised systematically. At last some suggestions are mentioned for the futher study of future research scholars.

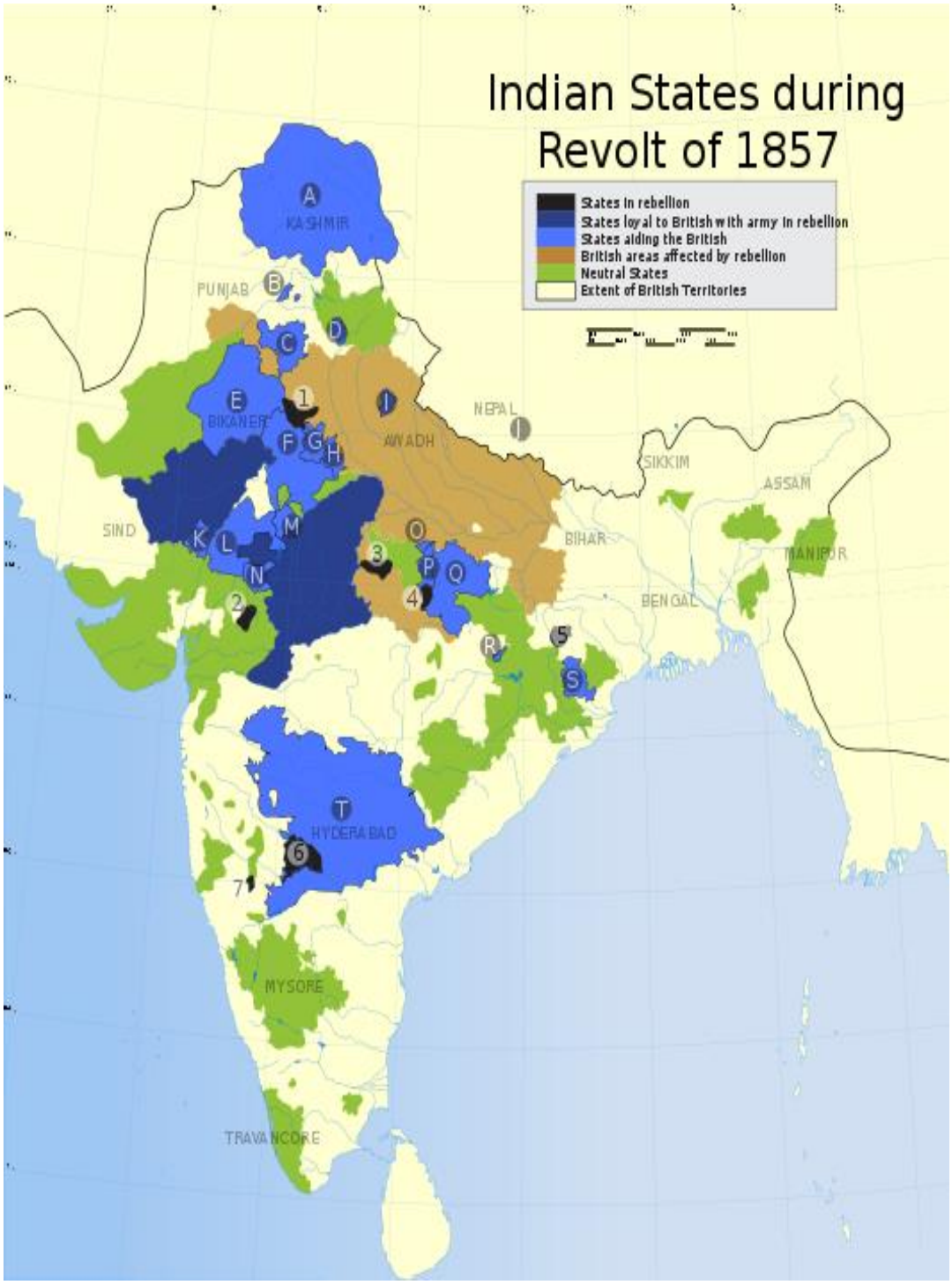
1.10 Research Method Used and Techniques –

1.10.1 Historical Method –

Researcher has used the historical method for data collection. Despit historical method for data collection a self made tool has been developed to get authentic documents and other informations regarding the problems.

1.10.2 Techniques –

Researcher used a survey method to find out data and informations of this selected research topic. For this I have used a questioner to be acquainted the facts and figures of Mutiny. I used this tool to local fudeal lords, nobles, leading personalities and local historians of Mewar.


Indian States during Revolt of 1857
States in rebellion
States loyal to British with army in rebellion
States aiding the British
British areas affected by rebellion
Neutral States
Extent of British Territories
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
BIKANER
AWADH
NEPAL
SIKKIM
ASSAM
SIND
BIHAR
MANIPUR
BENGAL
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
TRAVANCORE

Chapter II

Echoes of Revolt of 1857

Chapter II - Echoes of Revolt of 1857

2.0 A Narrative History of Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and its impact on Mewar

2.1 The Fall of Delhi, 1857

2.2 British Force occupied Delhi

2.3 Outbreak of Indian Mutiny in Bengal

2.4 Mutiny in Meerut

2.5 British Armies encounter of Mutiny

2.6 Last Days of The Last Mughal

2.7 The Mughal Imperial Family during Mutiny

2.8 British Officials Action in Delhi

2.9 Mirja Ghalib The Great Poet – His Last days in Delhi

2.10 The role of Rebel Army

2.11 The Mughal Princes left Delhi for to take Shelter

CHAPTER – II

Echoes of Revolt of 1857

2.0 A Narrative History of Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and its impact on Mewar –

If Ghalib found himself deeply anxious and depressed as 1856 gave way to 1857, the Theo Metcalfe was also in a very bad state.

After the sudden loss of his wife and his father, he tried to throw himself into his work and to soldier on as Joint Magistrate in Delhi. But the stress of bringing up his child on his own, and the depressing job of selling his father's library, as well as much of the other contents of Metcalfe House, all weighed down on him. He clung to his son as a last memory of his wife: 'I never can part with him,' he wrote to GG early in 1856. 'Altho' I feel the great disadvantage of leaving him many hours alone everyday, without the company of a lady, I do try to show him an affection which I never experienced when a child, the loss of which I always mourned.'[1]

As 1856 progressed, however, the stress of his mental state began to have an adverse physical effect on him, and especially on his eyes. 'You will be sorry to hear that I have been suffereing greatly from pain and weakness in my left eye for months,' he finally admitted to GG in August 1856 from Meerut, which has necessitated the abandonment of all use of it and has compelled me to give up work for a period of three months…. It is quite possible that even this rest may not be quite sufficient for its perfect recovery ….. I am ordered to live in a dark room so that I have no very cheering prospects before me; at present to go to

Delhi to put all our father's things [in Metcalfe House] in order. If I find that my eye is stronger at the end of a month, I propose taking a trip to the hills … Do you know any widow who wants to take care of a single gentleman, for I am comparatively helpless and am forbidden all reading or writing.

2.1 The Fall of Delhi, 1857 –

Georgina, who was summering in Kashmir, immediately offered to look after Charlie, Theo's son. Theo reluctantly, but gratefully, agreed. Soon after ripping down the flyer from the walls of the Jama Masjid, he wrote to his borther-in-law, Edward Campbell, repeating how much he needed a holiday, and that with luck, in May 1857, he would be able to join him and GG in the hills: 'I cannot account for this numbness of feeling that weighs me down and makes me helpless,' he worte sadly to Edward. 'I think without a relief from all work, without a long and perfect holiday, I will never rise." [2]

About the rent, I think there is no use asking him, and not the slightest in giving hints for he will not take them. I think we might just make out a little memo, showing him the actual expense we were put to by having Mrs Baxter and Charlied boarded on us, and then ask him to pay.

But Campbell had other worries that were causing rather more irritation than his lack of money and his insensitive brother-in-law. For the army had just put him in charge of training the troops in the Punjab with their latest and most advanced new armament: 'I am deep in all sorts of regimental affairs,' he explained to GG, and am taking a leading part as concerns the management of the new Enfield rifles. Our fellows don't like them as much as the old ones. I think they will, but at present do not

see how. It is a disfavourable circumstance because we cannot afford to unload and clean them as often as we would wish. We have so little ammunition …… and after firing a few rounds, they get very foul and hard to load.

The rumours were given some genuine credibility by the crassly tactless activities of the missionaries and their supporters among the Evangelicals of the army and administration. Had the Company chosen to recruit their sepoy armies from the lower castes this would possibly have been less important. But it had long been British policy to enlist Hindus from the ritually sensitive higher castes, and particularly those from Avadh, Bihar and the area around Benares. Encouraged to regard themselves as an elite by the British, the northern Indian peasant farmers who became sepoys had grown to become very particular about the preparation and eating of their food, and notions of caste, which in India had traditionally been relatively fluid, underwent a process of hardening, or what some scholars have called ‘Sanskritisation’, as the sepoys came to understand such issues as being central to their notions of self-respect.

To make matters worse, and the situation even more combustible, the army was already on the verge of mutiny over quite separate-and more secular-issues of pay and regulations. One of the first among the senior officers to realise this was Edward Campbell’s old boss, Sir Charles Napier, who had resigned as Commander-in-Chief in 1890, specifically because his growing worries that British India was in ‘great peril’ from the unrest among its own sepoys were comprehensively ignored by Lord Dalhousie. ‘There is no Justification for the cry that India is in danger,’ wrote Dalhousie in answer to a written report of Napier’s. ‘Free from all threat of hostilities from without, and secure, through the submission of its new subjects, from insurrection within, the

safety of India has never for one moment been imperiled by the partial insubordination in the ranks of its army.'[2]

Moreover, the British officers, who once mixed with their men-and not infrequently cohabited with the men's sisters- had become increasingly distant, rude and dismissive. Gone were the days of the White Mughals, who used to join their men wrestling or dancing in the lines, and who used to send ahead to the next village on a march to have the best chess player ready and waiting. According to **Sitaram Pandey,** a sepoy who wrote his memoris after 1857,

In those days the sahibs could speak our language much better than they do now, and they mixed more with us. Although officers today have to pass the language….. the Sahibs used to give nautches [dance displays] for the regiment, and they attended all men's games. They took us with them when they went out hunting. Now they seldom attend nautches as their Padre Sahibs have told them it is wrong. These Padre Sahibs have done, and are still doing, many things to estrange British officers from their sepoys. When I was a sepoy the captain of my company would have some men at his house all day and he talked with them ….. I have lived to see great changes in the Sahibs' attitudes towards us. I know that many officers nowadays only speak to their men when obliged to do so, and they show that the business is irksome and try to get rid of the sepoys as quickly as possible. One sahib told us he never knew what to say to us. The sahibs always knew what to say, and how to say it, when I was a young soldier.[3]

2.2 British Force occupied Delhi –

In May 1855 a long article was published in the Delhi Gazette purporting to have been written by 'an old sepoy officer just invalided

and settled in my village for the remainder of my days', but which in fact was almost certainly penned by an English officer. According to the author, none of the best potential recruits in the villages now wished to join up with 'an army which may turn into a navy at any point'. There were also, so the officer maintained. great worries that the military profession was losing its status and respectability as the company was now actively recruiting, and promoting, men of low caste. The Company high command now came to regard such men as less troublesome and ritually over-sensitive; but for the existing troops they were 'men we cannot know and whom 1000 of the 1120 people in the village despise', as the officer put it. 'Great as is the Company's name and wealth, it is not so strong as the prejudice of caste.'

One very stong candidate for the authorship of the Delhi Gazette piece was Captain Robert Tytler.

Harriet and Captain Robert Tytler

Tytler was a verteran of the 38th Native Infantry, and an officer of the old school who was close to his sepoys, concerned for their well-being, and completely fluent in Hindustani. Tytler appears to have been a

kind and sensitive man, a widower with two little children who had recently remarried, this time to the brisk and resilient Harriet. Harriet was half his age, and as fluent in Hindustani as her husband. This she had learned as her first language from her ayah during her army childhood, following her father's regiment across the plains of India. Together the two Tytlers pursued their amateur artistic enthusiasms, and – unexpectedly for an army couple- became pioneering photographers, carefully documenting the monuments of Delhi, most of which had never been photographed before.

Several years earlier, during the Second Anglo-Burmese War, Tytler's regiment had been ordered to cross the sea to Rangoon by Dalhousie – 'a very obstinate Scotchman', according to Harriet. Tytler had been mortified by the dilemma this presented to his sepoys. In her memoirs Harriet wrote, 'They were very high caste men from Oudh and to make them go by sea to Burma would have caused a mutiny. What they should have done was to ask for volunteers …… My husband said, "I know my men will never go if ordered, but if the Government would only ask them to volunteer, they would go to a man."

Tytler was ignored, and the order to sail was given. The response from the sepoys was that they would go, but not by sea. As a punishment, the entire regiment was ordered by Dalhousie to march, by land, not to Rangoon but to Dacca, one of the most unhealthy postings in India; within five months all but three men in the entire regiment either were dead or had been hospitalized. In Harriet's view, 'it was most unChristianlike to wish these poor men, who had only upheld their religious rights, to go where they were to die like dogs'.[4]

By the spring of 1857 none had yet been issued to the troops stationed in the Delhi cantonments, but orders duly came that two companies from each of the regiments stationed in Delhi should be sent to Ambala, 100 miles up the Grand Trunk Road, for training with the new guns. ‘Our men marched to that station,’ wrote Harriet, ‘and though before leaving Delhi they evinced some insubordination, still the officers hoped it would pass off as soon as they saw we had no desire to destroy their caste and turn them into Christians.’ The hope was quickly disappointed.

Bulletins kept coming in from Ambala to the Brigadier stating the great dissatisfaction the men were showing to the use of the Enfiled rifle and its greased cartridge, and my husband often said to me, ‘if our natives were to rebel against us, India is lost.’ He really became very anxious as days went on and symptoms of disaffection were showing themselves everywhere.

2.3 Outbreak of Indian Mutiny in Bengal –

The signs of disaffection were certainly becoming more and more apparent. On 29 March at Barrackpore in Bengal, one sepoy named Mangal Pandey called upon his fellow sepoys to rise up, and shot and wounded two officers; he was promptly tried and hanged. Soon afterwards in Ambala, so Tytler learned, the earnest requests of the British officers fro the new firles to be withdrawn were ignored by the commander in chief, General George Anson, a gambling man renowned as ‘the best whist player in Europe’, who had won the 1872 Derby with a horse he had bought for only £120.[5] His touch with his sepoys was, however, less sure than his feel for racehorses: ‘I will never give into their beastly prejudices,’ Anson said, when told that the troops were on

the verge of mutiny.[6] As a result, from that evening until May, the Ambala cantonments were hit by a wave or arson attacks; meanwhile any sepoy who bit the cartridges-including those from the Delhi regiments-was made outcaste by his fellows and taunted as a Christian. 'Feeling is as bad as can be,' wrote the commander of the depot, Captain E.M. Martineau.

2.4 Mutiny in Meerut –

By the end of April the trouble had spread to Meerut, where the 3rd Light Infantry also refused to fire the cartridge. The ringleaders were arrested, and at the end of the first week of May, Tytler'ssubahdar-major and close friend, Mansur Ali, travelled up from Delhi to sit as President of the Court Martial. Before he went he told Robert, "Sir if I find these men guilty, I will give them the severest punishment in my power.'

He was true to his word. On 9 May, Mansur Ali duly sentenced no fewer than eighty-five sepoys of the regiment to ten years' penal servitude. That evening placards were seen in the Meerut bazaar calling on al true Musalmans to rise up and slaughter the Christians.

The tenth day of May 1857 had proved an even hotter and drier year than usual.

As was their habit, the Tytlers drove down from the cantonments to the morning service at St James's. and on the way met one of their brother officers, who had just returned from the rifle training in Ambala. 'My husband called out, "Well Burrowes what about the men?" His reply was, "Oh they are all right now Tytler, and are on their way back."

Robert, however, remained worried and alert. That evening he heard the 'tootooing of the dakgharree [post carriage] bugle in the [sepoy]

lines, a very unusual thing for native soldiers never travel in a dakgharree. My husband came to the conclusion it must be Mansur Ali, our subahdar-major returning from the court martial. Presentaly the bearer came back to say Mansur Ali had not returned, but some men from Meerut had come to see their friends in the lines. My husband thought it was a strange thing, but never gave the matter any serious consideration.

Tytler was not the only person in Delhi to notice odd happenings connected with Meerut. On their drive to church, the Tytlers would have passed the city telegraph office, which was situated in the Civil Lines outside Kashmirei Gate. Inside, Charles Todd and his two young assistants, Brendish and Pilkington, were chatting with their friends in the Meerut telegraph office. There was great excitement and unrest in that town, they heard, due to the sentences that had just been given out. At nine o'clock both offices closed for the hottest part of the day.

When Todd returned at 4 p.m., at the end of his siesta, he found that communication with Meerut had been severed. He suspected that it was something to do with the weak link in the cable, the section that ran under the Yamuna, which, owing to 'the deterioration in the insulating material with which the cables were constructed, were a source of constant trouble'. Brendish and Pilkington were sent out to check. To their surprise they found that the cable was fine as far as the east bank of the Yamuna, and they had no problem signaling back to Todd from the far bank; the problem clearly lay somewhere towards Meerut. But by this stage it was six o'clock and too late to do anything more that day. So 'Todd made arrangements to go out himself next morning to endeavour to restore communication'. He then closed the office and went off back to his bungalow to have his dinner.

As Tood was closing the office, Geroge and Elizabeth Wagentrieberwere riding past it on their way back from Jennings' evening service. That night, they had a visitor. More unusually, it was a prominent Delhi nobleman, Zia ud-Din Khan, the Nawab of Loharu, a cousin of Ghalib whose father had been a business partner and great friend of Elizabeth's father, James Skinner. According to their daughter Julia, George and Elizabeth sat huddled in earnest conversation with the Nawab on the veranda, but

as I seldom went out to native visitors, I walked in at once and did not come out again. But when he had gone they spokle of some words of warning which he had been given about the troppers at Meerut being put in prison, that 'it was not wise policy and the Government would be sorry for it.' They thought it right to inform Sir T Metcalfe [Theo] of the Nawab's hints and my father sent him a letter that night.[7]

Theo, however, was otherwise engaged in packing for his holidays: he was due to leave on his journey to join GG and his son Charlie in Kashmir early the following morning, and he was too exhausted and depressed to act on the letter that night.

While the Nawab was visiting the Wagentriebers, another letter was given to Simon Fraser as he stepped out of the evening service at St James's. But it was a Sunday, and Fraser's mind was no doubt still on his beloved weekly performance with the choir. Whatever the reason, he put the envelope in his pocket and did not remember it until the following morning.

The letter, which Fraser finally opened and read over his break-fast, was a wraning that the sepoys had finally decided to rise up in Meerut, and that they intended to massacre the entire Christian population

of the station on Sunday evening. Fraser was horrified and called for his buggy to take immediate action; but by then, of course, it was too late.

The Meerut sepoys had not only risen and committed a massacre, they had also ridden south-eastwards throughout the night, and at that very moment were pouring over the Bridge of Boats, and into the walled city, in search of their Emperor.

He was suffering from exhaustion and depression – an intense 'numbness of feeling that weighs me down'. Moreover his left eye was now so inflamed that he had to wear an eyepatch; indeed, the people of Delhi had begun calling him 'One-eyed Metcalfe'. He was under no illusions about the critical nature of the situation in India – he had recently told a friend who was returning to England, 'you are lucky to be going home, for we shall soon be kicked out of India, or we shall fight to the death for our existence'. He badly needed a holiday, and now could not wait to get into the dak palki that would take him to join GG and his son Charlie in the cool green valleys of the Himlayas – his first proper break since he had arrived in India seven years earlier.

2.5 British Armies encounter of Mutiny –

He rose early, finished closing up Metcalfe House, and then around 7 a.m. set off at a leisurely place to his office at the Kutcherry Court House, just inside Kashmir Gate, to hand over charge to his successor. There, to his surprise, he found the courts empty, with only the Assistant Magistrate [Arthur Galloway] present, who was waiting, not knowing what to do … [It was] reported that the Treasury Guard had been overhead the night before saying that the Government had been tampering with their religion, and 'what would be, would be.' The report

was followed by one from the Darogah [officer] of the Yamuna Bridge, that the mutineers [from Meerut] were hastening towards the city.[8]

Theo looked out through the river-front window at the back of his office: there on the far bank, haloed in dust but still quite unmistakable, was a large body of infantry, led by a troupe of sawars, heading for the Bridge of Boats and making ready to cross.

Jumping back into his buggy, Theo drove straight to the fortified magazine that lay a little to the south, next to the new premises of the Delhi College, with which it shared the former site of the great Mughal haveli of Shah Jahan's son, Dara Shukoh. There he met his friend Lieutenant George Willoughby of the Bengal Artillery, who was in charge of the arsenal. Theo asked Willoughby for two guns to place at the end of the bridge so as to prevent the mutineers from crossing. But looking out over the riverside bastion at the rear of the compound, directly overlooking the bridge, the pair saw they were already too late: several hundred mutineers were now marching in open column over the bridge, and the foremost sepoys had already taken possession of the Delhi bank of the Yamuna.[9] Leaving Willoughby to close and barricade the magazine, Theo set off at breakneck spped to see whether he might yet close the Calcutta Gate, which commanded the passage from the bridge into the city.

Here Theo was, for once, in time. Simon Fraser, the Resident, and Theo's senior colleagues, the two chief magistrages of Delhi, the gate and managed to get it closed before the sepoys got there. From there, Theo could hear the tramp of feet as the sepoy infantry retraced their steps, having failed to push open the gate. They were now heading south along the sandy bed of the river to try to find an alternative route into the city.

The four Englishmen stood on the parapet of the gate, anxiously watching the sepoys through their binoculars; behind, a crowd of frustrated would-be bathers and increasingly restive spectators was massing between the gate and Anguri Bagh, Zafar's beloved Grape Garden, 'the riff raff of the city every moment adding fresh recruits to the already turbulent mob'.

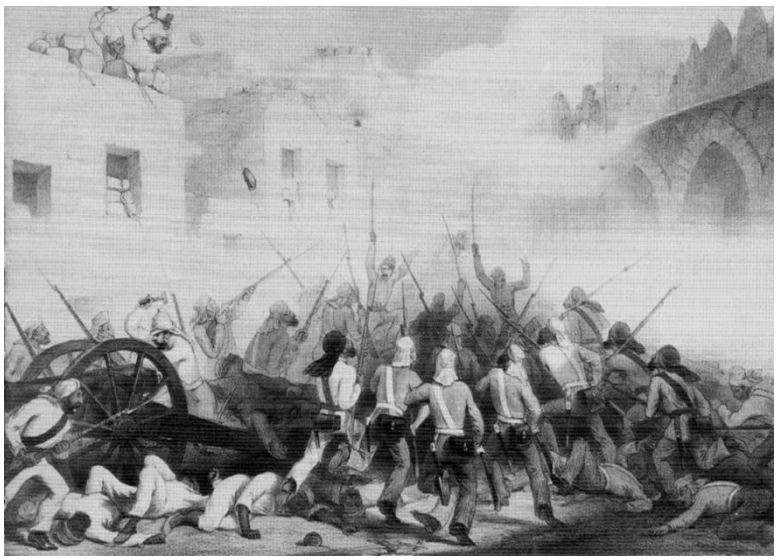
Guessing that the sepoys now planned to try to enter through either the Rajghat or Zinat ul-Masajid Gates of city, Fraser asked Theo to head as fast as he could to the south of the Palace, to make sure that both these gates had also received, and obeyed, the orders to close. Theo jumped back into his buggy and galloped around the Palace walls; but after only a couple of thousand yards, as he neared the great Lahore Gate of the Palace, and at the crossroads with Chandni Chowk. They were probably the same sawars who had earlier petitioned Zafar from below the Saman Burj. Either way, they had succeeded in entering the city, and were now hunting down any Christian they could find, 'with their swords in the air and shouting', according to the memoir of Theo's sister, Emily Metcalfe.

When they saw Sir Theophilus in his buggy, some of them rushed at him and tried to strike him and his horse, but [Theo lashed them with his riding whip and they] only succeeded in slashing the hood ….. Sir Theophilus noticed that an enormous mob had already collected on the open ground in front of the palace, and that they were all dressed in white as if expecting a gala day. So he drove his buggy at full tilt amongst them, and seeing he was still pursued by the mounted mutineers, he jumped out into the middle of the mob.

Here Theo threw off his dark coat and removed his trpisers so that he wouldn't stand out from the rest of the crowd.[10] Pushing on in his undergarments, he elbowed his way through the crowd, till he reached a

group of mounted police standing under some trees as if in expectation of a row. As these men were under his orders as Joint Magistrate, he told them to charge the mutineers, but they would not stir. So he knocked the principal officer off his horse (Sir Theophilus was a very powerful man) and jumping onto it himself, wrenching the reins from his hands, he galloped into the heart of the city to see the Kotwal [head of the native police].

By now the whole city was in state of uproar. Shopkeepers were trying to close their shops; some of the bazaars were already being looted, and smoke was rising from the European mansions in Daryaganj; moreover, there was still no sign of any British troops from Meerut pursuing the mutineers- as Theo had assumed they would. Before long, however, Theo heard that the Indian trops stationed in the Delhi cantonments to the north had now reached Kashmiri Gate and were forming up to mount a counter-attack. Getting back on his horse, and still wearing only his ‘shirt and underdraws’, he headed up through the maze of gullies and back streets in the direction of the Kashmiri Gate and the troops he hoped would save him.



The British attack Kashmiri Gate

As he galloped past a mosque, however, a large brtick thrown from an upper window hit him squarely in the back of the neck. Theo fell from his horse, and rolled off into a ditch, still and silent. Shortly after Theo had galloped off, Simon Fraser heard shooting and the cries of the sawars coming from within the city.

Realising that the sepoys were now within the walls, and that he and his colleagues were trapped with their backs to a barred gate, and an increasingly angry mob-now 500 strong-just a short way down the street, Fraser came down from the parapet. He ordered his small escort of irregular cavalry – provided for him by the supposedly Anglophile Nawab of Jhajjar – to from up in line with their swords drawn, facing down the street. Hutchinson, Le Bas and Captain Douglas, who were all unarmed, stood to one side by the sentries' guardroom at the base of the gate. According to one eyewitness, a news-crier called Chuni who was in the crowd,

This had just been done when about seven troopers and two men mounted on camels galloped up by the road along the place from the direction of Daryaganj, and immediately on coming within pistol short distance the whole party fired at the European gentlemen at the gate…. The Jhajjarsawars made no resistance, but deserted Mr Fraser and fled."[11]

Hutchinson, the senior magistrate, was wounded in the right arm, just above the elbow. Fraser, however, ran to the guardroom, seized a musket from the hands of a guard and shot one of the troopers dead. At the sight of the sawar falling, the crowd massing up the street became angry and began to head menacingly for the party. Deserted by Fraser's bodyguard, and trapped with the gate behind them, Douglas and Hutchinson jumped into the ditch of the Palace moat; the former fell

badly and broke his ankle as he hit the bottom. Helped by Makhan, his mace bearer, who jumped down after him, Douglas limped along the ditch towards the Lahore Gate, supported on the other side by the wounded and bleeding Hutchinson.

Frase, meanwhile, being too fat to jump, charged straight at the crowd with his buggy, and to his own surprise emerged unscathed on the far side. In the half – mile between him and the Palace, he was again attacked by several sawars who fired their pistols at him; but the shots missed, and the Resident arrived safely at the Lahore Gate of the Palace. There, the upright figure of Padre Jennings could be seen scanning the city with his telescope from the topmost chatri. His daughter Annie, and her friend Miss Clifford – Fraser's two choirmasters – were at his side.

Makhan, the mace bearer, helped the two wounded men out of the ditch. According to his later testimony, Douglas 'being considerably hurt, asked to be taken into the KuliyatKhana till he should recover a little from the shock he had received. In the meantime, the RevdMr Jennings came down to him, and he and Mr Hutchinson conveyed him to the apartments over the gate'.[12] There Annie Jennings and Miss Clifford laid Douglas on a bed and gave him some tea, dressed his ankle and attended to hutchinson's wound.

While Captain Douglas was being carried upstairs, Fraser had remained below, and attempted to mount a defence of the Lahore Gate. He ordered the gate to be closed and sent to Zafar for two cannon and a troop of armed guards. He also asked for two palanquins to remove Annie Jennings and her friend to the imperial zenana. But 'such was the confusion that neither the guards, nor the palkis, were forthcoming'.

No heed was paid to the orders given. The will to obey was wanting; the king's household had become rebellious, refusing to obey. Fraser remained for some time awaiting the palkis. Seeing that no attention was likely to be paid to his orders, he turned away as if to enter Captain Douglas's house. Pressed by the crowd, he ordered them to stand off. The gateway was guarded by a company of native infantry who he now ordered to load and close the gate; but they refused. Mr Fraser then remonstrated with the men for their behavior. They remained silent.

By this time a great crowd of men and boys had collected [and] began clapping their hands as a kind of insolent bravado at what was occurring. Mr. Fraser, on seeing such marked feeling of hostility, began to return to Captain Douglas's quarters, and as he reached the foot of the stairs, Hajji, a lapidary, raised his sword to make a cut at him. Mr Fraser who had a sheathed sword in his hand, turned sharply round, and thrust at him with the sword in its sheath, saying to the havidar of the gate guard, 'What kind of behavior is this?' Upon which the havildar made a show of driving off the crowd; but no sooner was Mr Fraser's back turned than the havildar nodded to the lapidary, to signify to him that now he should renew his attack. The lapidary, thus encouraged, rushed upon Mr Fraser, and inflicted a deep and mortal wound on the right side of his neck. Mr Fraser at once fell, whereupon three other men who had been concealed in the outhouse adjoining, rushed out and cut him with their swords, over the head, face and chest till he was quite dead.

'I was at the head of the stairs,' testified Makhan, 'and this was perpertrated at the foot of them.'

After this the crowd made a rush to the upper apartments, where the gentlemen, viz Captain Douglas, Mr Hutchinson and Mr Jennings had

retired. Attacking them with swords, they at once murdered them and the two young ladies ….. [Padre Jennings being cut down just as he got as far as the door to escape down a second staircase.] On reaching the room where Captain Douglas was, I saw that he was not quite dead. Mamdoh, a bearer in the service of the King, perceiving this also, hit him with a bludgeon on the forehead, and killed him immediately. I saw the other bodies, including those of the two ladies. Mr Hutchinson was lying in one room, and the bodies of Captain Douglas, Mr Jennings and the two ladies in another on the floor, except Captain Douglas who was on the bed.

All the murders were perpetrated within a quarter of an hour of Mr Fraser's death, and it was now between 9 and 10 o'clock a.m. after the death of the gentlemen, the crowd began plundering their property. Fearing for my own life I ran off to my own house in the city, and never returned to the palace.

By the time Padre Jennings was cut down, one of his two star converts had also been killed. Dr. Chaman Lal had been attending to his patients at his hospital in Daryaganj when the sawars first charged through the Rajghat Gate. Hearing the uproar, he had gone out of the hospital to investigate, whereupon he was pointed out by the people in the street. Immediately 'one soldier pinned him down, sat on his chest, and asked what religion he was. When Dr Lal replied that he was a Christian, the sawar shot him dead at point blank range with his pistol. The cavalry then ransacked and burned the clinic.'[13]

One British convert to Islam, a former Company soldier who had taken the name Abdullah Beg, remained throughout the Uprising one of the most active insurgents against British rule. On II May, 'on the arrival of the Mutineers, he immediately identified himself with them and

became virtually a leader and advisor'; later he was seen manning the rebel artillery, assisted by another presumed convert, Sergeant –Major Gordon, 'a tall sturdy-looking man, with a naturally fair face, though extremely sun burnt, and a fine soldier – like figure', who had been spared in the massacre of Christians at the outbreak of the Uprising at Shahjahanpur on account of what his sepoys took to be his Muslim faith. In due course he was taken to Delhi, where he was said to have manned the guns on the northern face of the city walls.

For Ghalib, the Uprising was more about the rise of the rabble of the lower classes than it was about the fall of the British. For him the most terrifying aspect of the revolution was the way his own courtly elite seemed to have lost control to a group of ill-educated ruffians of dubious ancestry: 'Noble men and great scholars have falled from power,' he wrote,

The young Mughal nobleman Sarvar ul-Mulk, who was then probably around twelve years old, was equally frightened by what he saw. He was being taken by a servant, Rahim Bakhsh, to visit his maternal aunt's house in KuchahBulaqui Begum, near the Jama Masjid, and was just crossing the Dariba on Chandni Chowk when 'we saw people running in all directions in fright'.

Rahim Bakhsh, a strong man, at once lifted me on his back and bolted. When we reached my aunt's house, the gate was being closed, but Rahim Bakhsh struck at the gate, and entered it with such force, that inside we both fell prone, and hurt ourselves badly …… The 'Poorbyas' [sepoys from the east] one and all considered themselves to be under the orders of nobody. After their arrival, we kept our houses well guarded.[14]

Hervey Greathed was not sorry to hear of the fear spreading through Delhi at reports of the brutal British vengeance : ‘The sawars who have reached the city from Cawnpore give dismal accounts of their defeat,’ he wrote to his wife. ‘They estimate the slaughter at 10,000 and tell terrific tales of the [kilt-wearing Scottish] Highlanders; they say they are men in petticoats, who come from Ceylon, and are Cannibals, to whom the Gurkhas are mere mice.’

He added, however that the people and sepoys within Delhi now had many other more pressing worries, and the British now thought that rebels moght flee the city altogether, so untenable had their position become in the face not of a military but rather a logistical catastrophe. ‘They are badly off for money, ammunition and food,’ he wrote. ‘I am beginning to get letters from the princes, declaring that they have been all along fondly attached to us, and that they only want to know what they can do for us. They must find out for themselves, for I shall not answer and tell them.’[15]

As the soldiers on the Ridge found themselves with more to eat and less to worry about, their couterrparts in Delhi were now every day growing closer to starvation.

The accuracy of this observation became clearer and clearer as June gave way to Julyand August, and the city grew hungrier, and thirstier. The British had cut off the flow of the Yamuna canal into the city early in June, so that the only water now came from the brackish wells within the city and the river to the east, where water carriers and bathers found themselves exposed to British shellfire.[16]

Despite this, many still came to take water, and even to sit and fish, exposed in the open, risking a stray shell in the hope of hooking a fresh

catch. The food situation was equally dire. Ever since June, petitions from starving citizens, jihadis and sepoys begging for food and sustenance had been piling into the Red Fort, and the intense hunger on the streets of the city had become a prominent theme of the spies' reports.

2.6 Last Days of The Last Mughal –

Throughout the day and night, pistols were produced and the members of the group were threatened with death. In the end, however, Munshi Jiwan Lal and the other munshis were saved by the Anglophile Mirza Jiwan Lal and the other Munshis were saved by the Anglophile Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh, who took Mirza Mughal aside and warned him, 'The English will capture Delhi and you will fall into their hands. These men are the Munshis of the English and you will have recourse to their assistance. I advise you to set them free, and thus keep them under an obligation.

Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775 – 1862)

If Zafar's decision to bless the Uprising on the afternoon of 11 May was a crucial turning point that transformed an army mutiny into the largest rebellion against their empire that the British would facr in the course of the entire nineteenth century, so Zafar's catastrophic failure of nerve on the evening of 16 September was the decisive moment that marked the beginning of the end of that rebellion. The different Urdu sources are clear that the confidence rebellion. The different Urdu sources are clear that the confidence and determination needed to resist the British, which had held up remarkably well up to that point, now began to fail the rebels in Delhi.

General Sir Archdale Wilson (1803 - 1874)

It was not that they had been defeated. Far from it: the British were on the point of collapse, as the morale and spirit of their troops continued to disintegrate; as late as the 18th, Wilson was still writing home that 'our men have a great dislike of street fighting ……. and get a panic and will not advance. I cannot see my way at all'.[17] But the rebels' confidence had been fatally eroded by Zafar's frightened retreat, and panic, once begun, now proceeded to pass swiftly through their ranks. The two armies

had eyeballed each other for three days now, and thanks at least partly to Zafar's failure of leadership, it was the rebels who blinked first.

The people of Delhi, aware now that collapse was imminent, began to pack up and flee to safety: the British lookouts stationed on the roof of Hindu Rao's House reported that evening that 'streams of people and animals have issued from Ajmeri Gate'. The trickle of sepoys leaving the city was now also becoming a flood, and Hodson saw from the 'Idgah that the Bareilly troops had begun blowing up their ammunition stores in preparation for flight. It was also reported by spies that the Bareilly troops had begun blowing up their ammunition stores in preparation for flight. It was also reported by spies that the Bareilly and Nimach troops had sent off their baggage down the road towards Mathura, intending to follow it by forced marches road towards Mathura, intending to follow it by forced marches road towards Mathura, intending to follow it by forced marches as soon as the opportunity to escape from the twon presented itself.

'The spirit of the mutineers now completely deserted them,' wrote sa'id Mubarak Shah, and they contemplated the entire evacuation of the capital. Whenever the Europeans saw an opportunity, they made their way into the main streets and bazaars, and shot all who opposed them…… Soon along the whole of the Chandni Chowk to the Palace, and even to the Lahore Gate, only scattered parties of sepoys and ghazees were to be seen – all the rest had fled.

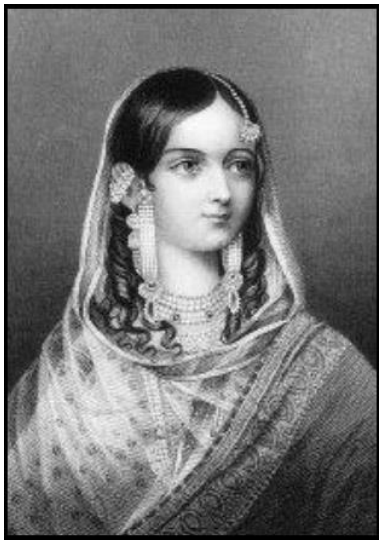
That night, the 16th, was the last, after more than two hundred years, that a Mughal emperor spent in the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad.

2.7 The Mughal Imperial Family during Mutiny –

According to the tradition preserved by the family of his favourite daughter, Kulsum Zamani Begum, Zafar retired to the tasbih khana (his oratory), praying and thinking, as outside the sound of fighting drew closer and closer to the Red Fort. Then at eleven o'clock one of the eunuchs was sent to summon Kulsum Zamani Begum:

There were gunshorts everywhere… The emperor told me, 'I give you over into the hands of God. Go now with your husband. I don't want to be separated from you, but it will be safer for you now to stay away from me.' Then he prayed aloud for our safety, blessed us and handed over some jewellery and other valuables, and asked my husband Mirza Ziauddin to take us away. Our caravan left the Fort late at night. We reached the village of Korali, where we are a simple meal of barely bread and yoghurt, but the next day, heading towards Meerut [the destination of so many of the British refugees from Delhi four months earlier], a party of Gujars attacked us and virtually stripped us naked.

Some time after midnight and before dawn, in the early morning of the 17th, Zafar quietly slipped out of the Red Fort by the water gate, without telling his prime minister or even Zinat Mahal. He was alone but for a party of attendants, and brought with him only a selection of his ancestral treasures, including 'the state jewels & property with lists of the same', as well as a palanquin. As dawn broke, Zafar took a boat down the Yamuna, probably to the jetty at the Old Fort, the Purana Qila, from where he made his way to the great Sufishrine of Nizamuddin three miles south-east of Shahjahanabad.[18]



Zinat Mahal (1821 – 1882)

According to traditions preserved by the family of the shrine keepers, the Nizami family, Zafar then handed over his ancestral relics into their safe keeping. These included a reliquary that he had specially carried from the Red Fort. The box contained three sacred hairs from the beard of the Prophet which had passed as a sacred trust from father to son in the House of Timur since the fourteenth century, and to which Zafar had been expecially attached: the Palace diary and other accounts refer to him personally bathing the hairs in rosewater. Having prayed at the shine, and eaten a simple breakfast given to him by the pirzadas, Zafar then allegedly burst into tears, telling the head Sufi:

I always thought these rebel soldiers would bring disaster down on our heads. I had apprehensions from the beginning; now they have come true. These soldiers have fled before the English Brother! Though my inclinations are those of a faqir and a mystic, yet in my veins runs that great blood which would keep me fighting to the last drop in my body. My forefathers have had worse days than these and they never lost heart. But I have read the writing on the wall. I see with my own eyes the fast approaching tragedy which must end the glory of my dynasty. Now there

is not a shadow of doubt left that of the great House of Timur I am the last to be seated on the throne of India. The lamp of Mughal dominion is fast burning out; it will remain but a few hours more. Since I know this, why should I cause more bloodshed ? For this reason I left the Fort. The country belongs to God. He may give it to whomsoever he likes.[19]

Saying this, Zafar delivered the relics into the custody of the shrine keepers, and set off by palanquin towards his summer palace abutting the Sufi shrine of Qutb Sahib in Mehrauli, where he had agreed to meet Bakht Khan. But after he had gone some way, Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh rode up, and told him that bands of Gujars were robbing anyone who set off in that direction, just as they had earlier robbed the British.

What Ilahe Bakhsh said was quite true, but what Zafar did not know was that Ilahe Bakhsh was in the pay of Hodson, and that he had come directly on Hodson's bidding, promising his paymaster that he would do his best to betray his cousin and to prevent Zafar from fleeing far from the city. In this way, although he had consulted no higher authority as to the terms he was busy negotiating, Hodson hoped to make his name as a great imperial hero, and so cement his return to grace by bringing in the emperor to be imprisoned and tried. To the same end, Hodson had now quite separately concluded his deal with Zinal Mahal and her father, Mirza Quli Khan, who were still in Zinat Mahal's haveli in Lal Kuan. After much indecision, they had also promised to persuade Zafar to surrender, in return for the guarantee of Zinat's life, and that of the three men in her life: her father; her son Mirza Jawan Bakht; and her husband, Zafar. The guarantee that Zinat and her father negotiated very pointedly did not include any of her hsband's sons by different wives.

Having been persuaded to change his mind, Zafar ordered that his palanquin be turned around and returned to Nizamuddin, where he waited for Zinat Mahal to join him. Then together they made for the great mausoleum of Zafar's ancestors, which lay close by. This was the great marble-domed tomb of Humayun, the second Mughal Emperor. It was the first great monumental tomb to be built by the Mughals almost three hundred years earlier, in the mid sixteenth century, and was still the most magnificent Mughal monument in Delhi.

Here Zafar sent a message, instruction that elephants shoud be sent to the haveli of hakim Ahsanulla Khan, telling him to join the imperial family at the tomb.

Then Zafar retired into the tomb chamber of his ancestor, to wait and to pray.

The news that Zafar had finally done what he had threatened to do for so long- to leave the Fort and make for the shrine of KhwajaQutb- spread through the muballas of the town like wildfire on the morning of the 17th.

By mid-morning great streams of people were pouring out of the Ajmeri Gate, while others- wrongly-decided they had less to fear from the British than the Gujars, and took their chances, heading out of the British-occupied Kashmiri Gate. Here many men and teenage boys were shot dead, while the women and children were allowed to proceed only after they had been systematically stripped by the guards of the money, jewellery and bundles they carried.

Some of these refugees headed up the same routes- the Karnal and Meerut roads- that the fleeing British had taken four months earlier. Harriet Tytler, who herself had had to flee the twon on II May, watched

them go; almost alone among British observers, she found room in her heart to feel for them in their plight: ‘What an experience it was to behold the myriads of women and children coming out of the Kashmir and Mori Gates,’ she wrote.

Women who had ever seen the outside of their zenana walls or walked but a few steps across their timy courtyards, surrounded only by their own family or their slaves, now to have to face the gaze of European soldiers as well as their own ……. I was sorry for the poor things, more especially for the poor high-casted Hindu women to whom it was agonizing pain to be jostled along with sweeperesses and other women of low birth and caste.[20]

Zahir Dehlavi’s family anxiously watched the people around them leave throughout the morning of the 17th, unsure of what to do. That evening, however, Nawab Hamid Ali Khan, the leader of Delhi’s Shia community, came to beg the family to come with him and leave the city before it was too late.

‘How are you sitting so coodly in your house,’ he asked my father, ‘when the king has left the Fort, and now all his subjects are also leaving the city? For goodness sake, leave your house and flee the city with your family this evening. Can’t you see that killing and looting is going on all over Delhi? I am now going to take my wife and children, and leave this place. Please: put the women of your family with my family in the carriage.’

Nawab Hamid Ali Khan’s house was nest to the Kashmiri Gate, but a month earlier [after the British began shelling the area] he had rented a house next to mine [off Chandni Chowk] and was living there. My father decided to take the Nawab’s advice, and though the sun was

now setting, he gave the order that we should leave. In the panic, everyone left in whatever dress they were wearing. My mother was so panicky that she dii not carry even a ring other than those she was wearing at the time. At least my wife had kept her wedding clothes which were worth about two thousand five hundred rupees. She also had with her a small case of jewellery. She wrapped all the things in a cotton mattress and rolled it up like a bloster, then spread the mattress in the bullock rath.

The party set off through the streets of the city in which they had lived all their lives but which was now almost unrecognisable:

In the streets there were terrible scences: as we left we saw the agony and helplessness of the people, as well as their fear and poverty. We saw the plight of the women who had always observed pardah and had never come out like this on the streets, and who were evidently unaccustomed to walking. We heard the howling and crying of the children. It was such a heart –rending scene that only the person who has ever witnessed such a thing can really comprehend it.

2.8 British Officials Action in Delhi –

Hodson's plan for the capture of the king got off to an inauspicious start.

William Hodson (1821 – 1858)

As Maulvi Rajab Ali and Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh approached Humayun's Tomb, they were ambushed by a party of jihadis, and four of their escort of horsemen were badly wounded. They wheeled around and fled back towards Delhi; but coming across Hodson after a short distance they were persuaded to continue with their mission, since the attack 'appeared to be the act of fanatics and not due to the King's party'.

On arrival, Hodson hid in some ruins, out of sight of the gateway of the tomb, and sent in his understandably nervous negotiators, Rajab Ali and Ilahe Bakhsh. They were attended by a small armed escort of fifteen men from Hodson's Horse, led by a Sikh risaldar (cavalry commander) named Sirdar Man Singh. Hodson gave orders that the Maulvi was to direct the negotiations. He was instructed to pass straight through the large and unstable rabble of refugees, shahzadas (princes), courtiers, hangers-on and jihadis who had taken shelter within the walls

of the garden tomb. When he reached Zafar, he was ‘to say to the King that if he came out quietly and gave himself up, I [Hodson] would ensure his safety, but if he ventured to leave the tomb, I had command of the entrance and would shoot him and his attendants without mercy’. For two agonizing hours nothing happened. Hodson was just about to assume that his envoys had been murdered when, after a long delay, the Risaldar came to say that King was coming. Presently Mirza IlaheeBuksh and the Maulvee appeared escorting the King’s Palanquin, closely followed by that of the Begum [accompalnied by her son Mirza Jawan Bakht and her father Mirza Quli Khan] with their attendants and a host of the fugitives from the palace and city. The Palanquins stopped and a message was sent to me that the King wished to hear from my own lips that his life would be spared.

I rode up to the spot, seizing the opportunity to interpose my men between the king’s immediate party and the crowd pressing behind, the appearance of which was threatening. I dismounted for a moment and reassured th King and the Begum (both of whom were evidently much agiated and frightened) by the promise that his life would be spared, provided no attempt was made at a rescue.

In addition to guaranteeing Zafar’s life, Hodson promised the King that he would not be subject to ‘dishonour (be-izzat) or any personal indignity’.

I then remounted and in sufficiently loud tone to be heard by the crowd repeated the words, adding a command to my men to shoot the first person who attempted to move. I then desired Mirza Ilahi Bakhsh and Maulvi Rajab Ali to proceed with the Palanquins as soon as they were a sufficient distance from the crowd.

The journey through the no-man's-land towards Delhi seemed to Hodson to take for ever. As he told a colleague, 'the slow shuffling pace of the [palanquin] bearers, their continual changing of their shoulders, and the pressing on of the crowd,' kept the atmosphere edgy and tense. But the cavalry sawars rode close to the king's palanquin, and no attempt a rescue was made. As the party neared the walls of the city, the crowd of stragglers slowly thinned until by the time they got to the Lahore Gate, Hodson's sawars found they were alone with their captives. The guard at the gate asked who Hodson had within the palanquin, to which he replied, 'only the King of Delhi'. They then passed down Chandni Chowk, and into the Fort, as Zafar returned to his ancestral palace no longer Emperor, but now prisoner.

Everyone stopped what they were doing to stare. One British surgeon described 'an old man with an anxious expression on his thin face' being carried through the litter of his ransacked palace. 'His countenance gave no signs of cruelty,' wrote the surgeon, 'but appeared mild.[21] Hodson handed his prize over to Charles Saunders, the successor to Hervey Greathed as head of the civil adminsitration of Delhi, and then went to report his coup to General Wilson.

To Hodson's surprise and disappointment, Wilson did not seem especially pleased by the news of the king's capture: 'Well I am glad you have got him,' was all he said. 'I never expected to see either of you again. According to Fred Maisey, who was also in the room at the time, the old general was actually 'in the most tremendous rage at the king being brought in alive ….. it seemed to me that the news was far from welcome, which made me doubt all along the assertion [by Hodson] that General Wilson had guaranteed the King's life'. General Wilson later strongly denied that he had ever done so, and there is good reason to

believe him, for both the civil and military authorites in Delhi had received strick and specific instructions from Canning in Calcutta not to offer any terms to the Mughals save that of unconditional surrender.

The afternoon, Zafar was taken to Zinat Mahal's haveli in Lal Kuan, where to add to his sufferings he was given the charmless and aggressive Kendal Coghill as a guard.

The following morning Hodson persuaded Wilson to sanction a second expedition to Humayun's Tomb.

This time the object was to pick up Mirzas Mughal, Khizr Sultan and Abu Bakr, the three princes who had commanded the Mughal forces during the Uprising, and whose presence in the tomb had now been confirmed by Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh. As before, Wilson made it a condition that he should not be bothered by the prisoners, and as no guarantees of the princes' lives had ever been discussed, Hodson interpreted his General's orders as he wished.

Hodson rode out with an escort of 100 sawars at eight in the morning, accompanied as before by his negotiators Maulvi Rajab Ali and Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh. Again, Hodson and his two British deputies halted outside the entrance to the tomb complex, and sent in the two Indians to negotiate. According to Lieutenant Mac Dowell, who left the only record of what happened, 'We sent in to say that the princes must give themselves up unconditionally, or take the consequences.'

There were about three thousand Mussalman followers [in the walled tomb garden]. In a suburb close by [Nizamuddin], about three thousand more, all armed; so it was a ticklish bit of work ….

At length imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, the princes resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying, I suppose, that as we had spared the King, we would spare them. So a messenger was sent to say they were coming. We sent ten men to meet them, and by Hodson's orders, I drew the troops up across the road, ready to receive them and shoot them at once if there was any attempt at a rescue. Soon they appeared, in a small 'Rath' or Hindustanee cart, drawn by bullocks, with five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about two or three thousand (I am not exaggerating) Mussalmans. We met them and at once Hodson and I rode up, leaving the men a little in the rear. They bowed as we came up, and Hodson, bowing, ordered the driver to move on.

Hodson told the sawars to hurry the princes along the road, while MacDowell and his troopers formed up between the crowd and the princes, advancing slowly towards the courtiers and attendants, forcing them back into the garden of the tomb.

What happened next is disputed. According to Hodson, when they finally caught up with the princes, three miles away, close to the walls of Delhi, and near an archway known ever after as the KnuniDarwaza, or Bloody Gate, a largeand threatening crowd was closing in on the princes and looked to be on the verge of rescuing them. According to other accounts, including that of Mac Dowell, it was only a small crowd and was not in any way threatening. But there is no doubt as to what Hodson did next.

He then stripped the corpses of their signet rings and turquoise bazubands (armlets), which he pocketed, and seized their bejewlled swords. The following day Hodson worte to his sister, saying that

however exhausted he was from his various exertions, ‘I cannot help being pleased with the warm congratulations I received on all sides for my success in destroying the enemies of our race. The whole nation will rejoice.’ He added : ‘I am not cruel, but I confess I did enjoy the opportunity of ridding the earth of these wretches.’[21]

The bodies were taken away and left out naked in front of the kotwali, where the British troops queued up to see them. ‘I saw them there lying stark and stiff,’ wrote Fred Maisey, ‘and I must say I was glad to see them, for of their guilt there never was a doubt, and I really believe the king was, to a great extent, a puppet in their hands.’ Charles Griffiths also applauded Hodson ‘for ridding the world of the miscreants’, adding that ‘he was upheld in the deed by the whole Delhi army, men in every respect better qualified to from a judgement in this particular than the sentimental beings at home.’

The attitude of Maisey and Griffiths was the norm among the British in Delhi: although there was a whole series of inquiries later launched into Hodson’s conduct, what was examined was not the shooting of the princes, but instead his clemency in presuming to guarantee Zafar’s life.

All morning, while Hodson was busy in Humayun’s Tomb, curious British soldiers had been going in parties to stare at the captive King, who sat miserably in his wife’s haveli, ‘like a beast in a cage’, according to one officer. ‘I have seen the old Pig of a king,’ reported a dismissive Hugh Chichester to his father. ‘He is a very old man, just like an old khitmatgar [servant]. One was always supposed to take off one’s shoes on going to visit mosques, or to have an interview with the King. But these little affairs we drop now.’ Other officers wrote home saying how they

had treated the King ‘with great disrespect,’ forcing him to stand up and salaam to them, while one boasted that he had pulled the King’s beard.[22]

Among Zafar’s visitors on the night of the 22nd was the new Civil Commissioner, Charles Saunders, and his wife Matilda, who went to see the King to break the news that two of his sons and one of his grandsons had been shot dead. Charles Griffiths was part of the guard on duty.

When the death of the three princes was announced to Zafar, he was so shocked and depressed that he was unable to react. But according to Matilda Saunders, Zinat Mahal was thrilled when she heard the news through the purdah curtain that had been hung ‘in the tiny cabin-like rooms’ where she had been lodged. ‘She said she rejoiced in the death of the elder sons of the King for now her son [Mirza Jawan Bakht] had a chance of succeeding to the throne. Some people might call this honest, however no throne in this world will he find, poor deluded woman, as she will soon discover.

Matilda Saunders then went and called on Taj Begum, who was being kept in a separate room from her long-time rival.

We went to see another wife once said to have been a great beauty – she is called the Taj Begum. We found her looking very sad with black muslin thrown over head and shoulders. He mother and brother had both died of cholera since the assault, and she is now no longer the King’s favourite. Zinat Mahal became very jealous of her and had her shut in prison for 3 years.

When I was leaving, the King called me back and told me he hoped to see me again, and that he hoped I would act as an ambassador between him and Charlie. I answered ‘KubbeenNai’ which means No Never! Said very emphatically. Twice I repeated it to make sure the old wretch

understood me thoroughly. I spoke to the Rifle Guard outside who were guarding him while Charles was assisting Mrs Grant onto the Elephant, and said I hope you will keep the king safely, don't let him run away. 'Oh no Ma'am,' [he replied,]' there's no fear of that, we are a great deal too fond of him!' So I said, 'that's right,' and walked away wishing them Good Morning.

When, that same evening, a young officer, Henry Ouvry, saw the princes's bodies lying naked at the kotwali, he wrote in his diary that this was just the beginning of the work of retribution for which the British had so long planned: though 'sick of blood', he wrote that he had no boubt that 'we shall have to execute a vast number before we are done'.

Little time was lost before this self-fulfilling prophecy began to be realized. Gallows were erected throughout the gutted city – 'they say there is not a neighbourhood of Delhi without its own place of execution', wrote one Delhiwallah – and the hangings began. The largest was 'right in centre of Chandni Chowk, a hideous erection of wood that was the only new and uninjured structure' in the entire street.[23] On a trip to take the air down the Chowk shortly afterwards, the twenty-three-year-old Lieutenant Edward Ommaney casually noted in his diary that he saw '19 men hanged opposite the Kotwali on one gallow, and 9 on the other'.

Not all the prisoners in Delhi were hanged; many others were shot. Hugh Chichester wrote that 'There has been nothing but shooting these villains for the last three days, some 3 or 400 were shot yesterday,' noting that while some young boys that the British came across were allowed to pass freely out of the city gates, 'most of them are put to death'.[24] According to Major William Ireland, 'Offenders who were seized were handed over to a military commission to be tried. The work went on with

celerity. Death was almost the only punishment, and condemnation almost the only issue of a trial. The gentlemen who had to judge offenders were in no mood for leniency.' It was not just bloodlust and the urge for revenge which provided the motive for this mass slaughter: there was also money to be made. Informers were paid 2 rupees for every arrest, while the captors were allowed to keep 'all money and gold found on the persons of mutineers captured.'

All this was cheered on in the Delhi Gazette Extra by George Wagentrieber, who returned from Lahore after the fall of the city to cover the work of retribution to which he had so long looked forward: 'Hanging is, I am happy to say, the order of the day here,' he worte soon after his return.

Six or eight rebels are hanged every morning and they are being brought in daily from the surrounding villages. A resident of Delhi, in peaceful times, might recognise in them the betinselled equestrians who (dis) graced the Chandnee Chowk, and sported their figures every Sunday evening. But how changed! Their features may be recognised but such a set of miserable crestfallen wretches, were never before beheld in the city of palaces.

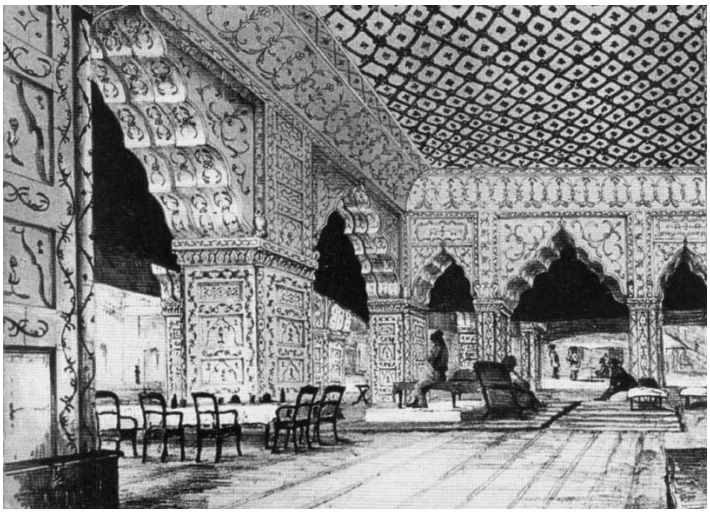
Subsequent issues of the paper kept Wagentrieber's readers up to date with the ongoing slaughter: 'Fourteen rebels were strung up opposite the Kotwalee yesterday morning,' observed an approving Wagentrieber a couple of weeks after his return, ' and some more this morning.' This was not nearly enough for Wagentrieber, who attacked Saunders in his columns for his weakness and leniency:

We have one man in Delhi, so full of the milk of human kindness that whilst there is a universal cry for vengeance against the King of

Delhi and his whole progeny for their inhuman cruelties and barbarities, his ‘bowels yearn’ for the little boy of eighteen [Mirza Jawan Bakht] he endeavours to lessen the indignities the little urchin is exposed to … [He] never approaches the royal prisoner without the most profound reverence.

Only Metcalfe, he wrote, was going about the business of retribution and hanging with the ‘appropriate energy … under the immediate instruction of Sir Theophilus we have won a good riddance of the budmashes [rascals], either by their non-appearance in the city, incarceration or – by the best of all means – the gallows’.

On Sunday, 27 September, a special thanksgiving service was held by Padre Rotton in the Diwan i- Khas. Rotton preached from the text, ‘What shall I render unto the Lord, for all the benefits which he has done to me?’



The British turn Zafar’s Hall of Private Audience, the Diwan – i – Khas, into an Officer’s Mess, late autumn 1857.

As far as Rotton was concerned, the service represented a thanksgiving for deliverance of Good from the hands of Evil: ‘It would hardly be possible to conceive anything more impressive than this assembly,’ he wrote, ‘a small but victoripus Christian force assembled

within the Imperial Palace of the ancient Moslem capital of Hindustan, lining the four sides of that marble hall wherein the king and his advisers had not long before convened, plotting and determining evil against the British cause.'

And now the councils of evil men had been brought to naught, and every foul purpose of theirs completely frunsrated, the triumphant army- the means which God had been pleased to employ in order to bring about these gracious ends – stood devoutly in the Divine presence, ascribing unto Him praise, and saying glory and honour, power and dominion are thine.[25]

One of the few women present, MrsCoopland, took Rotton's view of events to an even more perverse extreme: 'In this splendid hall,' she wrote, 'which once echoed to the mandates of a despotic Emperor, with sole power of life and death over millions of submissive slaves, now echoed the peaceful prayers of a Christian people.'

Early the following morning, a column of troops moved off towards Agra in belated pursuit of Bakht Khan and his rebel sepoys, though by this stage only 2,600 men of the Delhi Field Force were left to carry on the fight to Agra, and hence to the last great battle of 1857, the relief of the besieged British Residency in Lucknow. Their first trial was simply crossing the deserted city: 'The march was simply awful,' wrote Richard Barter.

Our advance guard consisting of Cavalry and Artillery had burst and squashed the dead bodies which lay swelled to an enormous size in the Chandni Chowk, and the stench was fearful. Men and officers were sick all round and I thought we would never get through the city. It was a ride I don't care ever to take again, and the horse felt it as much as I did,

for he snorted and shook as he slid rather than walked over the abominations with which the street was covered.

Fred Roberts was equally horrified. ‘The march through Delhi in the early morning light was a gruesome proceeding. On our way to the Lahori Gate by Chandani Chowk, not a sound was to be heard but the falling of our own footsteps; not a living creature was to be seen.’

Dead bodies were strewn about in all directions in every attitude that the death struggle had caused them to assume, in every stage of decomposition. In many instances the positions of the bodies were appallingly life-like. Some lay with their arms uplifted as if beckoning, and indeed the whold scene was weird and terrible beyond description…. The atmosphere was unimaginably disgusting, laden as it was with the most noxious and sickening odours.

Though the departing troops were heading back into conflict, and many would lose their lives in the fierce battles that lay ahead in Lucknow, few of the column envied the prize Agents or the small garrison that was left behind in the stink of this City of the Dead.

One of those who had just received the bad news that he was to stay in Delhi was the young Lieutenant Edward Ommaney. A promising linguist, Ommaney had been part of Nicholson’s Moveable Column and had written in his diary of his horror at the latter’s brutal treatment not only of the mutineers but even of his unfortunate cook boys. Since then, however, he had himself been scarred and brutalized by the violence he had seen and participated in; and his diary, like Edward Vibart’s letters, oscillates between sensitive observation and moments of startling savagery.

Indeed, he was himself aware of the changes that the daily violence were bringing about in the British army of occupation: ‘How little the death of anyone affects people,’ he wrote in his diary for 1 November, after hearing about the death of John Clifford, whose sister had been murdered with Annie Jennings and whose bloodstained appearance during the capture of the city had so shocked Charles Griffiths. ‘[Clifford was] so young and full of spirits when I las saw him a few days age. I was telling some fellows [about Clifford’s death] and all they said was, “Oh, I heard somebody telling so, poor fellow,” and that is all. One dies, and only intimate friends mourn- and how few they are.’ Yet the same man was capable of writing only a few weeks later, ‘ coming back, we thrached every native who did not salaam’.

Two days before the departure of the columns, Ommaney had received orders from Saunders that he was to be Zafar’s jailer. His first job had been to find a secure prison for the former monarch within the walls of the Red Fort. He had just found a suitable looking house at the back of the bazaar-formerly the residence of a junior shahzada named Mirza Nili- when he was told that in addition to Zafar and his immediate suite, he would also be in charge of eighty-two women, forty-seven he would also be in charge of eighty two women, forty-seven children and two eunuchs of the imperial harem. These had just been brought into the Fort from Humayun’s Tomb in a procession of fourteen heavily loaded gharries (carts), and placed ‘in strict confinement’under Ommaney’s charge. The following day, before he had even been able to begin thinking about how he was to feed or organize sanitary arrangements for this many people, cholera broke out among his royal prisoners, claiming the life of the first of the begums the following night.

‘He is confined to a little room containing only one charpoy,’ observed another visitor, ;and is allowed but two annas (3d) a day for his food. He is treated with great disrespect by the officers and soldiers, though Mr Saunders is civil to him.’

The Begums and princesses of his house share his prison with him. These unfortunate ladies, to whom no guilt could be attached, were exposed to the gaze of officers and soldiers who could go into the room where they were at their pleasure. To a native woman of the very lowest class this is an unutterable shame. [Whenever any man entered] they all turned their faces to the wall.[26]

Many of Zafar’s British visitors actively relished the humiliation they could now inflict on the family simply by breaking the women’s purdah: ‘It seemed absurd to humour thus their silly prejudices,’ wrote MrsCoopland, ‘when they had spared no European in their power any indignity or insult.’ In addition, Zafar was forbidden access to his hakim, whom he continually asked for, as well as his dhobi and barber. Even John Lawrence, who in most matters acted as a moderating influence on British excesses at this period, advised Saunders not to too solicitous to the ex-King: ‘Neither the King, nor any member of the family, deserve anything at our hands,’ he wrote in December. ‘In the present state of feeling it would be a great mistake for us to show him consideration.’

Whatever injustice this implied, Lawrence was quite correct in his estimation of British Public opinion: when Ommaney took Mirza Jawan Bakht out for an elephant ride in Daryagnaj, hoping to extract information about the origins of the Uprising from the boy by separating him from his parents, the Lahore Chronicle lambasted the Delhi administration for ‘keeping the King in luxury’ and started a campaign calling for Zafar to

be hanged and his city leveled: as if it were not bad enough for ‘the King [to be] spared and living in state’, harrumphed the Chronicle in an editorial,

[now] his youngest son is playing the prince in this city, still reeking with English blood, pounding up and down Chandni Chowk with an English officer behind him. Oh! God that an Englishman should be found base enough to accept the task, and that an English officer should be found playing the part of a lackey to the spawn of the viper!

The campaign to flatten Delhi proved especially popular with the Chronicle’s readers: ‘Having just seen your issue of the 18th instant,’ wrote one reader, ‘in which you most properly, as in most of your late issues, uphold the necessity for the destruction of Delhi “in toto” and no sparing of the Jumma Masjid etc for fear of offending the Moslem, I consider it a duty to my country, as it should be of all Englishmen, to assist you in the national cry of” A bloody revenge” and “Down with Delhi”. The campaign also struk a chord among the British troops in Delhi. Hugh Chichester was typical. ‘There are several mosques in the city most beautiful to look at,’ he wrote to his father. ‘But I should like to see them all destroyed. The rascally brutes desecrated our churches and graveyards and I do not think we should have any regard for their stinking religion.’ Charles Raikes thought the Jama Masjid should be saved, but converted into a church, ‘and name each stone after a Christian Martyr’.

Amid such self-righteous hysteria, only one man dared call publicly for Zafar to be better treated. Henry Layard, the former MP for aylsebury, came to visit Zafar and was horrified by what he saw. ‘Many persons regret that the King of Delhi has not fallen in just punishment for

his offence,' Layard told an audience in London. 'I saw the King of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether he is punished.'

I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner we are treating him is worthy of a great nation. I saw that broken-down old man- not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace – laying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered cover-let. As I beheld him, so remembrance of his former greatness seemed to rise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms which were eaten into by disease and by flies – partly from want of water; and he said, in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat. Is that the way, as Christians, we ought to treat a King? I saw his women too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all was allowed for their support was 165 a day! Is that not punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?[27]

Ommaney, who firmly believed that the British had been too soft on Delhi and should have exacted a more violent retribution, was not readily inclined to ameliorate the conditions of the imprisonment. Yet to his own surprise he slowly came to be fond of Zafar, whom he thought looked 'very like Sir C Napier'. Indeed, he quickly concluded that Zafar was so old, senile and distraught that 'he was perfectly unaccountable for his actions' during the Uprising. Before long the elderly King began to return his jailer's unexpected affection: by mid-October, Ommaney was recording in his diary how Zafar 'appeared as if he was going to embrace me, [but instead] put his right arm on my left shoulder and patted me'.

Ommaney also grew to be increasingly intrigued by Zinat Mahal – who, he said, henpecked her ailing and senile husband; but of the sixteen

harem women at his disposal, only she seemed to look after the old man. Zafar, wrote Ommaney in his diary, ‘is kept greatly in order by his favourite wife, Zeenut Mehur, who if she is speaking and he puts in a word, tells him to keep quiet as she is speaking. He is always wanting trivial things, which if they do not please him, he throws away, which at times, enrages the Ex-Queen who holds the purse. His own servants and sons treat him with the greatest respect’.

As for Zinat Mahal herself, he wrote in his diary that ‘She talks prettily, but with difficult language for a novice.’ Later he added, ‘Zeenut Mehul I have never seen, [though] one day I saw her hand and arm which she showed to let me see part of her clothing at the time she wanted money. She talks nicely, but I believe she is not good looking. She strikes me as being a very clever and intriguing woman.’

Only one member of the family did Ommaney instantly dislike. This was Zinat Mahal’s beloved son, Mirza Jawan Bakht. Spoiled and callous, Jawan Bakht soon proved himself more than willing to give evidence about any of his family’s activities during the Uprising. Early on in his captivity, Jawan Bakht laughed when he saw Ommaney ‘thrash’ Zafar’s tailor, who had entered the prison without permission. The young prince was warned by Ommaney ‘that if he laughed when I punished a man, he would probably get the same.’ Within a short time he was offering to show Ommaney the whereabouts of his mother’s buried treasure in return for 100 cheroots, which Ommaney procured from the Parsi merchants Cowasjee and Co., who had now moved from the Ridge into the fort bazaar. ‘He [Jawan Bakht] is apt to get very familiar if he fancies he is encouraged,’ wrote Ommaney in his diary. ‘He possesses in my opinion, not the slightest spark of honor and affection, according to English ideas if those qualities.’

Zafar's two surviving younger sons, who shared his exile in Rangoon : the beloved Mirza Jawan Bakht, only son of Zinat Mahal (left), and the illegitimate Mirza Shah Abbas

He has told me of many things which implicate his father in the rebellion, he has told of the jewels and property of his mother, who declared she had none, indeed he has as much told me that his mother is a liar. After his showing his brother's treasures, he in fear and trembling went to his father and mother, telling lies as to where he had been. He has no affection for his brothers, calling them Budmashes. What more can be required to show the degeneracy of the once proud and powerful race of Taimoor than seeing this young descendant traitor.

By the middle of November, news came through from Calcutta that the details of the military commission to try all the princes and nobles of Delhi, including the King, had all been finalized. Shortly afterwards Major J.F. Harriott arrived in Delhi as Deputy Judge Advocate General to begin work on the various trials. Ommaney was instructed to help Harriott with the translations of the documents that had been found in the Palce. These, it was assumed, would provide the evidence for the conviction of the entire Mughal family and their court. It was also hoped

that the trial of Zafar, now seen by many of the British as the central conspirator behind the Uprising, would act as a sort of Commission of Enquiry into the causes of the Uprising.

'Judging from Harriott's appearance and manner,' wrote Ommaney after their first meeting on 27 November, 'none of the prisoners have much chance of getting off.'

However bad the conditions suffered by the royal family, they were preferable to the situation of the oridinary people of Delhi, most of whom were now dotted around the surrounding countryside,sheltering in tombs and ruins, foraging for wild fruits or begging for food as best they could. Only a very few still remained within the city walls, and most of those were starving. According to Charles Griffiths:

The tai-khanas, or underground rooms of houses, scattered all over the city, were found to be filled with human beings-those who, by age or infirmity, had been unable to join in the general exodus which had taken place during the last days of the siege. Hundreds of old men, women and children, were found huddled together, half-starved, in these places, the most wretched looking object I ever saw.

There was no means of feeding them in the city, where their presence would have raised a plaugue; so by orders of the General, they were turned out of the gates of Delhi. It was a melancholy sight seeing them troop out of the town, hundreds passing through the Lahore Gate ….. We were told that provision had been collected for their use at a place some miles distant, and it is to be hoped the poor creatures were saved from starvation; but we had our doubts on the subject, and knowing how callous with regard to human suffering the authorities had become, I fear that many perished from want and exposure.

Within the city, even the most loyal British servants who had opted to stay in their havelis now found their life impossible. Teams of looters, official and unofficial, went from house to house, past the litter of broken furniture and the smashed contents of shops that lay scattered across the streets, seizing what they could, and forcing any inhabitants they found still sheltering in cellars to show them where they had hidden their valuables.[29]

It would have been contrary to human nature, and utterly at variance with the predatory instinct, had the soldiers failed to take advantage of the facilities for plunder which surrounded them on every side; nor could it be expected that a man, after possessing himself of valuables, would …… deliver up all his booty to the authorites …….. often, when wandering through the city in search of plunder, I, in the company of others, came across officers engaged in the same quest as ourselves……. Mean while the prize agents got to work. Mrs Muter described her husband setting off after breakfast with a troop of coolies, armed with picks, crowbars and measureing lines. A house said to contain treasure would be allotted for a day's proceedings, and the business would commence by a careful survey of the premises … By careful measurement of the roofs above and of the rooms below, any concealed space could be detected. Then the walls were broken through, and if there was a secret room or a built up niche or recess it would be discovered, and some large prizes rewarded their search. On one occasion ……. He came back with thirteen wagons loaded with spoil, and among other valuables, eighty thousand rupees – in English money £8000. On another occasion, silver vaessels and gold ornaments, and …….. a bag of a thousand rupees.

‘In a very short time,’ wrote Charles Griffiths, the rooms of the Prize Agents were filled with treasures of every kind – jewellery and precious stones, diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls without number, from those as large as hen’s eggs to the small species used for necklaces; gold ornagments, chains of the most beautiful workmanship, bracelets and bangles all of solid metal …..

Many spies and collaborators had written evidence that they had assisted the British, but General Wilson had ordered that ‘no protection tickets should be recognised as valid unless countersigned by him, and consequence was that but few obtained anything like protection for their property’, stated a report of the company’s Intelligence Department. ‘Before two or three days had elapsed there was not a house which had not been ransacked and plundered of its contents, friends and foes of the government suffering to an equal extent. Munshi Jiwan Lal, who had been a key intelligence official throughout the siege, and only just survived successive rebel attempts to capture and execute him, had his house comprehensively looted by sikh soldiers on 21 September. A similar fate awaited even the arch-collaborator Mirza Ilahe Bakhsh, who, despite betraying his cousin, Zafar, and even his own grandson, Mirza Abu Bakr, still had his house ransacked and all his goods taken from him by the Prize Agents.

The most poignant letter expressing the feelings of betrayal experienced by all pro-British loyalists was written by the former Delhi College mathematics lecturer and Christian, convert, Master Ramchandra. Ramchandra had escaped from Delhi on 11 May, the same day that his fellow convert, Dr Chaman Lal, was killed on the first morning of the Uprising. Returning to Delhi after the fall of the city, he expected to be welcomed home by his fellow Christians, but instead found himself living

in fear of his life just as he done during the Uprising- but while before he had been targeted on account of his faith, now he suffered merely because of his skin colour. Finally he decided to put his experiences on record in a letter to Colonel Burn, who had recently been appointed the Military Governer of Delhi. In the letter he described how he had happily worked as an assistant to the prize agents and as a translator of documents for the trials of the rebels, but even so had found his life constantly threatened. 'More than a month ago', he wrote, 'I was directed to go to Mr Murphy's house near the Church there to translate some papers from Persian into English.'

As I was passing on the road, I saw some English officers standing on Hamid Ali Khan's Mosque throwing clay balls by means of a bow or Ghulail at all native passers – by. All my explanations of being a Govt Servant and a Christian & c could not be of any use; on the contrary they were more exasperated by this; they abused me and threw their clay balls with greater force …. [Later, going again] to the said mosque in search of some books which I was employed to collect by the Prize Agent, I was attacked again as before, though I had two Prize Agency Chuprassees [orderlies] with me and though I cried to inform the officers that I had a ticket [i.e. pass] of the Prize Agent.

After that I found to my great grief that I was not only in danger in deserted streets but in my very house also. About 12 days ago, at about 9o'clock at night, I and two of my friends were conversing with each other …. When we were suddenly confounded by the cracking of stones against the doors and walls of my house and one stone falling on my bed with great violence ….

Ramchandra described how the English officers billeted opposite his hous turned out to be responsible, and that they continued to attack him and his house at regular intervals in the days and nights that followed. One day, returning from Edward Campbell's house in the Fort, I received a heavy blow on the head from an English officer passing with another gengleman also on horseback and after inflicting this blow with his stick the officer turned around and required me to make a salaam. I made many salaams instead of one and cried I was a Christian sir, and employed by the Prize Agency, and after this he proceeded towards the Diwan i-Khas abusing me and saying I was as black as jet. Being much hurt and almost stunned and grieved, I stopped a little at the place where I had received the blow, seeing which the gentleman who struck me returned towards me galloping and alighting from his horse inflicted many severe blows on my left arm and back ….

Ramchandra then described the sufferings he had undergone in the course of the Uprising, on account of his conversion, 'but then I was comforted in my greatest distress by reflecting that what I had gone through was nothing compared with what the English Officers, civil and military, and missionaries had suffered'.

Besides I thought that if the Mutineers find and kill me they will do so on account of my having abjured the creed of my forefathers and embraced Christianity, and that I will die a witness to the faith of the blessed saviour, like the martyrs of old, the Apostles and early Christians. Herein was a great comfort to me under all my trials and dangers. But there is hardly any comfort remaining, when a native Christian is in danger from Christian officers themselves, merely because he was not born in England and has not a white skin. This was not the case even among the rebels in Delhie who were professors of false religion. A

Mohomedan or Hindoo was received as a brother among them. They hated only Christians, and those who were known to be friendly to them.

'This my appeal', wrote the disillusioned Ramchandra, 'is not only for native Christians, for there are very few [left] in Dehlie, but for Hindoos and some Mohomedans also who are allowed to live in the City, but are exposed to danger from the English soldiers, and particularly the English officers.

Ghalib was among those very few Muslims left in the city. A stroke of luck and protected the poet when so many of his friends and patrons were killed or driven out. For his muhalla, Ballimaran, contained the hakim and several senior courtiers of the loyalist Maharaja of Patiala, who had sent troops and supplies to the British on the Ridge, and who now arranged for guards to make sure that looters did not attack the street. Thanks to the Maharaja's guards, Ghalib was one of the only citizens of Delhi to remain unmolested in his house, and almost the only member of the courtly elite to survive the fall of Delhi with his property, such as it was, intact.

Even so, it was a desperate time. Ghalib wrote in Dastanbuy of how he and his neighbours had sht the gate of the muhalla and piled stones against it so as to barricade themselves in as all around them 'mass arrests, assassinations and slaughter' imprisoned or killed scores of his friends. Meanwhile, within the barricades, Ghalib's neighbours waited nervously, hoping their meagre stocks of food and water would last until peace returned. In his diary, the poet scribbled down his worries as to how he could survive when his city had been utterly destroyed around him:

There is neither merchant nor buyer; there is no seller of wheat from whom we can buy flour, nor is there a washerman to whom we can give our siled garments; there is no barbar to trim hair, or sweeper to clean our floors. It was impossible for us to leave the lane for water or to get flour. Gradually, whatever provisions we had in our houses were consumed. Although we used the water with great care, not a single drop remained in cup or jar and we were hungry and thristy throughout the days and nights. Beyond, mass slaughter was rampant, and the streets were filled with horrors ….. We are like prisoners: nobody comes to visit us and we receive no news. We cannot leave the lane so we are unable to see what is happening with our own eyes. Then one day clouds appeared and it rained. We tied up a sheet in our courtyard and palced our jars beneath it and in this way we collected water ….. Still the two [adopted] children whom I have raised with such indulgence ask me to give them fruit, milk and sweets, and I cannot satisfy their wishes…..[30]

Ghalib's other worry was his mentally ill brother. Unable to reach him, he heard first that his brother's house had been looted. Worse news followed: his brother had run out into the street and been shot dead by trigger-happy British soldiers. To crown this, it was impossible to get out of the city to bury him, and it was difficult even finding the water to wash the body or a proper shroud in which to lay him to rest. Finally, on 5 October, three weeks after the British entered through Kashmiri Gate, British troops climbed into the muhalla and hauled Ghalib off to Colonel Burn to be interrogated. Always a dapper man, Ghalib made sure he was wearing his best Turkish-style headdress for the interview.

The Colonel looked at this strange fashion and asked in broken Urdu, 'Well? You Muslim?' 'Half,' said Ghalib. 'What does that mean?' asked the Colonel. 'I drink wine,' said Ghalib, 'but I don't eat pork' The

Colonel laughed, and Ghalib then showed him the letter which he had received from the Minister for India [sic] in acknowledgement of the ode to Her Majesty the Queen which Ghalib has sent. The Colonel said, ‘After the victory of government forces why did you not present yourself at The Ridge?’ Ghalib replied, ‘My rank required that I should have four palanquin bearers, but all four of them ran away and left me, so I could not come.’

According to Ghalib’s own account of the meeting, he also added, ‘I am old and crippled and deaf, and as unfit to confer with as I am to fight. I do pray for your success, and have done all along; but I could do that from here.’ Colonel Burn let him go.

Almost alone of his class, Ghalib had, without leaving the city, surivived the cataclysm that destroyed Delhi. But now he had to face the intense loneliness of the sole survivor – a life without anyone left with whom he could share his tastes or arts or memories. By his own estimate, there were barely a thousand Muslims left in the city; many of his best friends and rivals were dead; while the others were scattered ‘in ditches and mud huts’ in the surrounding countryside. Mean while, he kept his head low in the occupied city, ‘a swimmer in this ocean of blood’. As he wrote in a verse contained in a letter to a friend Rampur:

Every armed British soldier

Can do whatever he wants.

Just going from home to market

Makes one’s heart turn to water.

The Chowk is a slaughter ground

And homes are prisons.

Every grain of dust in Delhi

Thirsts for Muslims blood.

Even if we were together

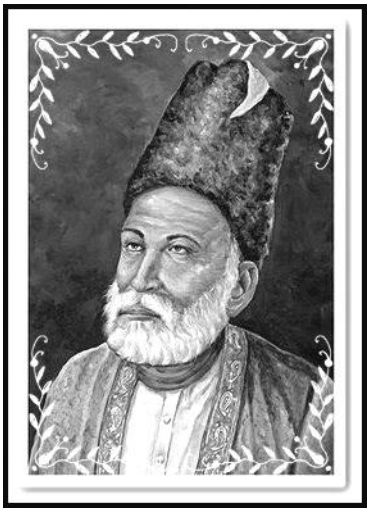
We could only weep over our lives.

'The light has gone out of India,' he wrote in one letter. 'The land is lampless. Lakhs have died and among the survivors hundreds are in jail.' 'People go mad from great sorrow,' he wrote in another. 'Would it be surprising if I should lose my mind from this onslaught of grief ?'

2.9 Mirja Ghalib The Great Poet – His Last days in Delhi –

What grief haven't I suffered : grief in death, in separation, in loss of income, and in honour ? Besides the tragic events in the Red Fort, so many of my Delhi friends have been killed ….. How can I forget them ? How can I ever bring them back ….. relatives, friends, students, lovers. Now every one of them is gone. It is so terribly difficult to mourn for a single relative or friend. Think of me who has to mourn for so many. My God! So many of my friends and relatives have died that if now I were to die, not a single soul would be left to mourn for me.

Ghalib concluded Dastan buy with a similar cry of despair: 'My sorrows are incurable and my wounds will never heal,' he wrote. 'I feel as if I am already dead.'



Mirza Asadullah Khan – 'Ghalib' (1797 - 1869)

If life was difficult for those who had shown sympathies for the British, it was much more so for those who had rejoiced at their downfall, and who now starved ad scavenged outside the city: 'Are the British officers not aware that many innocent and noble minded women, both young and old, with small children are roaming the forests outside Delhi?' wrote Ghalib to one correspondent, still hoping, contrary to all sense of humanity. 'They have got neither meals to eat nor clothes to wear. They have got neither the place to sleep at night nor a place to take shelter from the burning rays of the sun. One can only weep over the fate of this city.'

Even the implacable George Wagentrieber was shocked by what he saw of the environs of Delhi. Around the town was 'a continuous line of dead carcasses – of camels, horses, and bullocks with their skins dried into parchment over the mouldering bones and still polluting the air around.'

Every tree has either been lopped off or leveled to the ground with our shot. The Garden houses of the Nawabs and other wealthy natives of Delhi present a mass of ruins; most of them are only four walls, full of

holes while in front, and indeed all around, lie bleaching remains of man and beast. Close to the road on the left, I saw the perfect skeleton of a human being, the bones all connected and snowy-white, to all appearance uninjured with the exception of a hole in the skull.

Approaching the once dense forest of trees in the subzeemundee [the vegetable market] I was struck with the change six short months had wrought. Instead of the long line of lofty peepul, mango and other trees, the view was clear for miles, the bare trunks alone remaining of what was an impenetrable jungle. Many of these trees, in fact most of them, have been stripped of their foliage to feed the cattle, but there is no mistaking the bruised, ragged appearance of those leveled by round shot…. Not a house here has escaped , the walls left standing are very few, and those are well pitted with grape shot and musket balls.

It was amid such ruins that the Delhiwallahs, rich and poor both, struggled to find cover and food to eat. AS Ghalib put it, 'the inhabitants of this huge place, seven miles around, are dying daily of starvation and want of shelter'. Miserable sheds had sprung up by the side of the road, inhabited by 'perhaps rich baniyas, merchants and shopkeepers', until in November an edict was issued by the British authorities forbidding the construction of such shanties, which they ordered to be torn down immediately, so exposing the refugees to the full force of the elements.[31]

Sickness soon broke out among many of the wasted refugees, especially around Zafar's old summer palace in Mehrauli and the shrine of Nizamuddin. 'Hundreds of the feeble perished through want and misery,' wrote Major Ireland. 'It was not till the end of November that the Hindoo portion of the population was allowed to return. Still no Mahomedan could get in at the gates without a special order. A mark was

set upon their houses, and they were required to prove their loyalty before getting back again.'

2.10 The role of Rebel Army –

Sarvar ul-Mulk's aristocratic family still had their servants, but hiding in a tomb and fearful of arrest, they found themselves living the lives of rag pickers. 'Our two servants would go out every day,' he wrote, 'and joining the other looters bring back various eatables such as rice, mutton, jaggery and wheatflour, all mixed together, and these were thrown indiscriminately into a pot which, full of water, was kept balanced on three stones. Then whoever felt hungry would cautiously approach this pot, satisfy himself or herself and that done crawl away under the shelter of the wall and hide.' In his old age, Sarvar ul-Mulk remembered climbing a tamarind tree so as to throw down the fruit to his friends and his terror on seeing a column of Khaki-clad troops heading in his direction; he also remembered his relief when they changed course and went elsewhere.

Sarvar ul-Mulk (Delhiwallahs)

Even worse was the fate of anyone who had been associated with the court, however tangentially, for death was the usual punishment meted out to courtiers if they were caught. Zahir Dehlavi was aware of this and kept moving on as fast as he could to avoid capture. His story was not untypical. After a night in the dargah in Mehrauli he headed on towards Jhajjar with many other refugees - the same road that Theo had travelled in May – and put up by his cousin, who was the Nawab's prime minister. Here he ate his first proper meal for many days. For a week he stayed there, recovering from his ordeal, but on the eighth night he was woken by his cousin and told that the English soldiers had arrived. They were mas – arresting Delhi refugees, and Zahir was told he had to leave immediately if he wished to save his life.[32]

From Jhajjar, he walked to Pranipat, where he was reunited with the rest of his family at the house of aunt. But again, after a few days, the English surrounded the town on all sides and started conducting house-to-house searches, looking for mutineers and Mughal nobles and courtiers. Zahir had a narrow escape, as he happened to be out of the house when the English broke in, but his uncle, brother and brother-in-law were all taken away and hanged. Zahir escaped at night, in the company of Jang Baz Khan, another former attendant at the Fort; avoiding the British dragnet, they managed to cross the Ganges and make it to Bareilly. Here they finally succeeded in catching up with the fleeing rebel army, only for both boys promptly to be arrested as British spies. They were about to be taken away and shot, when Mir Fateh Ali, a Delhi nobleman who had thrown in his lot with the rebels, happened to ride past and recognized them:

He saw me, and jumping off the horse, with his sword cut the ropes with which I and Jang Baz had been fastened, held our hands and took us

to that General Sahab [Bakht Khan], and abused and scolded him. He said, ‘you traitors, you ruined the house of my King, and ruined Delhi. You destroyed his subjects and rendered them homeless and still you continue with your mischief. These are the servants of the King, and the poor fellows are running away to save their lives from the English, and you are treating them as informers. If I had not come this way you would have killed these innocent men.’

Narrowly escaping arrest by the British a third time in Rampur, Zahir managed to find shelter and a position as poet and courtier in the Durbar of the Maharaja of Jaipur. From here he made his way to Hyderabad, where, like Sarvar ul-Mulk, he eventually made a new life in the service of the Nizam.

It was here, in the first years of the twentieth century, that Zahir finally wrote up ‘in the language of Zauq, Ghalib and Momin’ the notes he head kept of his life in, and escape from, Mughal Delhi: ‘My age is past seventy now,’ he wrote at the end of his manuscript. ‘I have become weak in body and mind, and my memory is beginning to go. I am hard of hearing and can no longer see so well. My heart has been broken by the tragedies I have witnessed.’

Zahir Dehlavi never saw Delhi again. He died in 1911 and buried in exile in Hyderabad.

Zahir’s life on the run was typical of the fate of most of the Salatin and courtiers of Zafar’s durbar. Few avoided British search parties for long, not least because of the generous bounty put on the heads of everyone associated with the Red Fort.

Through out October and November search parties were sent out to track down the members of the royal house. The first to be brought in

were two of Zafar's younger children, Mirza Bakhtawar Shah, aged eighteen, and Mirza Meandoo, aged seventeen. The two had commanded the Meerut troops and the regiment called 'Alexander Pultun' respectively. They were promptly tried by Major Harriott and sentenced to death.

'Water field came down here to tell the two prisoners that they were to be excuted tomorrow, noted Ommaney in his diary for 12 October. I was with him. They did not appear to feel it at all, they only wished to see their women and children. I took Meerza Meandoo's two women and a child to see their husband and father for a few minutes…… [The following day] they were taken to the ground in a bullock cart, which marched behind the artillery which led the way. On arrival at the place of execution [the sand bank in front of the Palace] the column was drawn in line and prisoners brought out of the cart and blindfolded. 12 riflemen were then ordered to within 12 paces.[33]

Most of Zafar's sons and grandsons met the same end, sooner or later. As Major William Ireland noted, the princes 'had every opportunity of making off. It is surprising, however, how many were caught hovering about the neighbourhood; [in the end] twenty-nine sons of the royal house were taken and put to death'. So many members of the royal family met dire ends that Ghalib changed the traditional Urdu name for the Palace-the Auspicious Fort-to the Inauspicious Fort.

2.11 The Mughal Princes left Delhi for to take Shelter –

Only two sons of Zafar are known to have succeeded in amking their escape. At the same time as Mirza Bakhtawar Shah and Mirza Meandoo were arrested, two other princes- Mirza Abdulla and Mirza Qwaish – were picked up, still sheltering hopelessly in Humayun's Tomb,

and kept under a Sikh guard. According to the Delhi oral tradition recorded by the Urdu writer ArshTaimuri in the early years of the twentieth century.

The Sikh Risaldar felt pity for these young men, and asked them, ‘Why are you standing here? They replied, ‘the sahib has asked us to stand here.’ He glared at them and said, ‘Have mercy on your lives. When he returns he will kill you; run whichever direction you can. Beware and don’t stop even to take a breath.’ Saying this, the Risaldar turned his back and both princess ran away in different directions. After some time, Hodson came back and saw that the prisoners had fled. He asked the Risaldar, ‘Where did those men go?’ ‘Who?’ the Risaldar asked, as if he was ignorant. Hodson said, ‘The princes who were standing here.’ He said, ‘I don’t know. What princes?’

Mirza Qwaish went straight to Nizamuddin to his brother-in-law and told him that he had escaped from the custody of Hodson. His brother said, ‘Brother, run away from here.’ So he got his head shaved, tied a cloth on the head and wrapped a loin-cloth around his waist; and thus changing his appearance into a fakir, managed to reach Udaipur [in Rajasthan]. There he met one of Maharaja’s eunuchs who also came from Delhi. The eunuch appealed to the Maharaja that a dervish had come, and if some salary is fixed for him then he would say and keep praying for your life and wealth. The Maharaja granted the wish and fixed for him two rupees per day. After the mutiny he lived for 32 years. He spent his entire life in Udaipur, and was popularly known as Mian Sahib.

Hodson continued his search for Mirza Qwaish and searched every nook and corner, but could not find him. The government even released a poster for his arrest and announced a huge reward. Allured by this,

several people went to Udaipur, and with the help of the Kotwal of the city reached the house where Mirza Qwaish was living in disguise, but he never fell into their hands, and died a free man in Udaipur.

Mirza Abdullah mean while lived in the princely state of Tonk in extremely difficult conditions, roamed about as tattered beggar in a pathetic condition and finally died in the same state.

Once they were arrested there was no clear policy on what should happen to the various princes. Those who could be shown to have been in any way implicated in the Uprising were immediately hanged, but that still left large numbers of princes who were not obviously guilty on any crime other than that of belonging by birth to the Mughal dynasty. The records of the British administration in to the Mughal dynasty. The records of the British administration in Delhi at this period, preserved intact in the Delhi Commissioner's Office archive, show the arbitrary and astonishingly chaotic nature of the British response to this problem. Some of these princes were hanged, others transported to the new imperial gulag set up on the hot and impossibly humid Andaman Islands, some sent into internal exile. Most were imprisoned in Agra, Kanpur or Allahabad, where large numbers died within two years owing to the harsh conditions of their imprisonment. These included 'a cripple, a boy of 12 years of age, and a very old man'.

A review of some of these cases was held by Saunders in April 1859 on orders from John Lawrence. The Delhi Commissioner had to admit that for almost all of the imprisoned princes and salatin 'the enquiries I have made have not resulted in bringing blame to any of the above parties', and it was impossible in most cases 'to prove any overt act of rebellion'.

None of the prisoners have been proved guilty of any more serious offence than that of being members of the ex-King's family. In the eyes of many this would be considered sufficient to warrant them severe punishment for it is notorious that the whole of the House of Taimur were (as might very naturally have been expected) elated with the propect of their dynasty being once more in the ascendant and so took a very zealous and active part in the hostilities and dreadful scenes which were enacted in the palace.

The retribution which has fallen upon the members of the house has however been severe, and the mortality among the prisoners whose cases have come before the commission it will be seen has been very great [annexed was a list of fifteen princes who had died in prison in the previous eighteen months]. I therefore beg to recommend that the surviving prisoners be removed to a distance from Delhi to Rangoon where they are not likely to acquire any local influence, or Benares which is a Hindu city, or Multan if it be considered necessary that they should remain under the charge of the Punjab government.

Chapter III

Mewar State And Indian Mutiny Of 1857 : An Unknown Chapter

Chapter III - Mewar State And Indian Mutiny Of 1857 : An Unknown Chapter

3.0 Causes of Mutiny

3.1 Outbreak of The Mutiny

3.2 Revolt of 1857 at MOUNT ABU and ERINPURA

3.3 Relief of Doongla

3.4 Mutiny at Neemuch

3.5 Action of British Armies Against Mutineers in Neemuch

3.6 The Role of Mewar during Mutiny

3.7 Role of Shahpoora

3.8 Measures Taken by the British to Suppress of Mutiny

3.9 Mutiny in Tonk

3.10 Role of Saloombra in Mutiny

3.11 Neembahera during Indian Mutiny

3.12 Role of Tara Chand Patel of Nimbahera in Mutiny

3.13 Role of Thakur Kushal Singh of Ahwa against The British

3.14 Siege And Operations of Fort Neemuch

3.15 Mundisore at the time of Mutiny

3.16 Mughal Princes took shelter in Mundisore

CHAPTER – III

Mewar State And Indian Mutiny Of 1857 : An Unknown Chapter

3.0 Causes of Mutiny –

The Rajput states in general, since they were taken under British protection, had enjoyed comparative tranquility. The Marathas and Pindaries made inroads into Rajputana and had fleeced, desolated and laid waste the principal Rajput states. But since the establishment of British hegemony, the Rajput Princes had felt secure in the enjoyment of their internal sovereignty.

Just before the outbreak of the 'Mutiny' in 1857 the feeling of estrangement and bitterness between Rao Sheo Singh and his feudatories had reached its zenith. A force was sent against the disaffected chiefs. From Bhattana this force was trying to curb their rebellious spirit. But the dissatisfaction against the Rao was so wide spread that he was finding it difficult to enforce his authority. Captain J.D. Hall, political Superintendent of Mewar and second in command of the Jodhpur Legion with Indian sepoy was stationed at Anadra to suppress the rebellious Thakurs.

At this critical juncture the report of the outbreak of 'Mutiny' at Meerut was first received by Colonel George St. Patrick Lawrence, Officiating Agent to the Governor – General for the state of Rajputana, at Mount Abu on 19th May 1857. He found himself in a grave situation. The regular forces stationed in Rajputana, at the time belonged mainly to the Bengal Army whose integrity and loyalty was most doubtful and there

were no British Soldiers except a few sick and invalid soldiers at the Mount Abu Sanatorium.

Considering that Rajputana was ill prepared to meet the imminent danger, Colonel George St. P. Lawrence instructed all the Political and Military officers in Rajputana to take necessary precautionary measures as the Bengal Native Troops could not be relied upon. He also reposed faith in the fidelity of the Rajput Princes for the maintenance of the British power and for exercising control over their own subjects and troops.

In order to win their support, he issued a proclamation on May 23, 1857. In this proclamation he repudiated all rumors about the revolting attitude of the Indians. In an effort to prevent them from showing sympathy to any emissaries of the Mughal Emperor, he drew their attention to the emblems of Hindu worship which were mutilated. He exhorted the Rajput Princes to concentrate their force on the frontiers of the respective states, so as to be available, whenever called upon to aid the paramount power. At the same time he desired them to liquidate the insurgents within their territorial limits.

The proclamation had a favorable effect upon the Rajput Princes who responded to it by deputing their force on the borders of their states to intercept the rebels. Besides they did not respond to any calls of Mughal emperor for help against the British.

On May 28, 1857, the ‘Mutiny’ broke out a Nasirabad. The soldiers of the Bengal Native Sepoy's Regiment expressed their resentment by burning and plundering the Nasirabad Cantonment and by killing a few European Officers. On learning that the Deesa Field Force was approaching, they moved out from Nasirabad, gave up their plan to

attack Ajmer and instead, marched for Delhi to join hands with the Mughal Emperor.

When the news of the outbreak at Nasirabad reached Neemuch, situated 120 miles away, the Indian Sepoys stationed there also rose in revolt on the night of June 3, 1857, setting on fire the cantonment, plundering the treasury and killing a number of Europeans. On June 5, 1857 the rebel Sepoys marched towards Delhi to join the forces of the Mughal Emperor.

3.1 Outbreak of The Mutiny –

To an observer in India who had been watching the incipient indications of discontent in the native army and of secret collusion or combination on the part of country at large – partial mutinies and nightly incendiarisms on the one sideand the circulation of secret signs, posting of threatening placards, on the other – and who traced those alarming symptoms to causes such outburst of military revolt and organized rebellion at Meerut and Delhi, on the roth and 11th May, 1857, came in no wise as an unlooked for sequel to the premonitory warnings. To such an observer, then, the personal incidents of this first crash, unparalleled in their ruthless barbarity, had significance chiefly as proclaiming that a struggle for Empire had begun – that India was in danger, and that all possible effort on the part of every officer at his post, of every Englishman in his place, and the most consummate forethought in the application of reliable resources would be needed to save the country.

The official action during the crisis being taken upon has a vast significance of the opening events. A reference to one or two circumstances in proof of the right apprehension of the same may serve to explain that action at critical conjunctures.

Recurring first to the memorandum, on the Annexation policy, which he had had the hounour of placing on record at the Board of Control, India Office, in the preceding Spring, 1856, he brought out a copy of the document when returning to India in the autumn of that year, and submitted it to the Governer-General Lord Canning's perusal, through his private secretary, the Hon. Gerald Talbot. His Lordship kept the paper of over a month, and frequently in conversation recurred, Mr. Talbot mentioned from time to time, to his arguments against the policy in question. "Captain Showers' views," the Governer – General would observe, "seem most conclusive; but what the advocates would involve a reversal of the policy which sent to carry out, viz., the consolidation of the Empire through the absorption of the Native States."

No change, however, was made in the policy in question, to reassure the princes against the contemplated subversion of their dynasties by the prohibition, in contravention of the immemorial usage of the country, to adopt heirs in failure of lineal descendants. That policy was inaugurated by the annexation of Satara, a measure taken in direct opposition to the views regarding the succession placed on record by Sir George Clerk, in his official position as Governer of Bombay. In his minute dated 12th April, 1848, reviewing the whole question raised by the death of the late Rajah without lineal descendant, he based his views on the terms of the Treaty of 1819, concluded with the Satara State. Therein the succession of the State in perpetuity, guaranteed to the then reigning Rajah's "heirs and sucessors," Sir George contended, must be interpreted according to the immemorial usuage of the country, and that the lad adopted by the late Rajah was such a successor. He added, "whatever we intend in faour of an ally in perpetuity, when excuting a treaty with him on that basis, by that we ought to abide in our relations with his

successor. In the present instance the terms and intentions of the Treaty appear to me to be remarkably distinct and perspicuous. Should any doubt be entertained, Mr. Elphinstone and Captain Grant Duff, under whose direction it was drawn, could be referred to as to their understanding of the words at the time the treaty was concluded." Such high-minded and just principles of action must have commanded assent on the part of the Supreme and Home Government, apart from the high authority on which the proposed measure based on them was supported, had not the annexation been a foregone conclusion. Lord Dalhousie's views in regard to his anticipated consolidation of the Indian empire by the absorption of the Native States, were passed fully under review by the Home Government, and carried by an overwhelming majority of the Court of Directors. Four able dissentients, who placed on record their minutes of dissent, were overruled. From that day State after State fell in on failure of lineal descendants until the last-Oude-which was annexed by the deposition of the king on moral grounds.

Lord Canning, accordingly, having received his mandate, considered that he had no option. The conspirators of the revolutionary movement, not being counteracted by any practical exhibition on the part of Government of a conservative tendency, were left to work out their ends by the masterly stroke of combining both sections of the Native Arhis – Muslims and Hindu's in an apprehension for the instigation that the Government designed to absorb both in a general Christian propagandism. The fiction of the greased cartridge for the new rifle being prepared with pig's fat and bulloc's fat, was implicitly believed by the uneducated rank and file of the army, and thus by a master-stroke both of the hereditarily antagonistic sections were combined in one common crusade against the supposed perfidious subverters of both religions.[1]

While waiting however for an expected signal for a simulataneous rise, the troops generally dissembled well, remaining steady to routine duty and respectful to their officers, so that it was believed, and by none more hopefully than the Government, that the restiveness exhibitied here and there was but a passing outburst of partial discontent from possibly local or personal causes. At this juncture, he wrote in April his views regarding the situation to the Political Resident of Bhopal, eliciting the following reply: “I hope your dreary anticipations of coming evils to India will not be realized. He do not think there is much danger in the direction you point at-among the Native Army.” Within less than a month from that date the crash came- prematurely precipitated by the imprisonment of the 3rd Cavalry men at Meerut. And it must be considered fortunate that it was so precipitated. Otherwise, in the fullness of time, the machinations of the astute conspirators would have been fully affected by the simultaneous rise of the rebels at all points on the preconcerted signal and watchword: “Astar shall fall!” From the overwhelming catastrophe that such an event must have occasioned, they were saved by but an accident.

How little of right apprehension of the situation there was on the part of Lord Canning’s official advisers, may be gathered from the Government despatch cited by the Westminster, in an article of 1865, reviewing Kaye’s “Sepoy War,” and from which he quote the following passage :-

“How little of right apprehension there was in the council of the Governor-General of India, of the dark shadows thrown before by the coming events, may be gathered from the despatch of the Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated May 19th, 1857 reporting the Mutiny, and written in full knowledge of the rise of the Native troops at

Meerut and Delhi, of the ruthless massacres which had attended the revolt, and crowned by the seizure of the ancient imperial Capital, and proclamation of the restored Mogul dymasty. What was the view taken by the Government of those events, and the remedial measure which it submitted for the approval of the Home Government? Let us hear the despatch. After enumerating by numbers the six regiments which had been concerned in the rise at Meerut and Delhi, the strength of the Bengal establishment is reduced by six regiments. We recommend that the six Native regiments which are in effect no longer in existence, should not be replaced, whereby the establishment of the regiments of Native Infantry would be reduced to sixty eight regiments, and that the European officers of these late regiments should be used to officer three regiments of Europeans, to be added to your establishment at this Presidency.' As if the defection of the six mutinied regiments were the first and last of the terrible drama upon which the curtain had but just risen in yells and flames of successful revolt, in shrieks of slaughtered women, and in the pealing proclamation of a restored dynasty!" [1]

3.2 Revolt of 1857 at MOUNT ABU and ERINPURA –

The first intelligence of the outburst reached the british officer on the 18th May at Mount Aboo, where he had been summoned for an official conference by Colonel Lawrence. The proceedings of this Conference were naturally intensified by the exigencies of the crisis and protracted from day to day till all necessary measures had been taken. Foremost among these he wrote to his friend, the late lamented Lieut. General Ashburnham, who expected to touch at Bombay en route to China as Commander-in-Chief of the force despatched from England for the China war. In communicating the intelligence of the rising at Meerut and Delhie, he submitted to his judgement, matured by long experience

with Indian affairs, to weigh the character of the emergency that had arisen, when, should it appear to him that India was in danger, heven tured to express his assurance that he would not hesitate to arrange for his China battalions being intercepted at Singapore, and diverted to Calcutta to meet the paramount call for reinforcements that had arisen in India. On the breaking up of the Conference at Aboo he returned to his own post of Udaipur, riding by double marches across the range of Aravulli Mountains running between Aboo and that capital, arriving on the 29th idem (May). At the close of the last day's journey he had proposed to ride straight into the capital, waiving the usual ceremony of Peshwai, or State reception, as his entry might be thrown late in the night. But the Maharana sent out a confidential officer to meet him and over rule his proposed plan on account of the disturbances that had broken out, it occurring to His Highness with thoughtful consideration that his entering the capital without the usual State Peshwai, might, at so critical a conjuncture, be construed by the ill-disposed into an intentional slight, and thus possible endanger his safety. By his express desire, then, and through the hospitality of its lord, Rao Bukht Singh, the Rao of Bedla, he stopped overnight at that castle and made his public entry the following morning in the usual form, the Maharana coming out to Peshwai to the Choghan, or Champs de Mars, in more than usual state to receive him.

This was but the beginning of the Maharana's thoughtful care for the personal safety of the British Representative at his Court. Being absolutely alone at the time at Udaipur without his escort, or even his office establishment, and the capital being filled with fanatic mercenary troops, Muslims and other, similar to those at the hands of whom his brother Political Agents on either side ofhispost, Major Burton in Harrowtee lost their lives, the Maharana proposed that he should take up

his residence in the Water Palace of one of the islands of the lake ; but he declined to do so, as any step on the part of the British Representative indicative of a want of confidence in their position, was specially to be avoided at such a time. The Residency, then, being wholly without defences, his Highness sent for his protection four of the chiefs who were in personal attendance on himself at the palace. These, with their respective retainers, kept watch and ward day and night.

The Mutiny among the Bengal troops, manifestly spreading, was already in the heart of Rajputana. Then first arose rumours of an approaching rise at Neemuch, the principal military post with in his political circle, distant eighty miles from the Capital, where was stationed the strongest Native Brigade of troops in India, horse, foot and guns, unchecked by the presence of a single European soldier of the line. Expresses, which he forwarded on regularly to the officiating Agent Governor-General, and to the Foreign Secretary, brought me, at all hours of the day and night, from Colonel Abbott, commanding at Neemuch, and Captain Lloyd, Superintendent of the Jawad Neemuch District, varying accounts of the temper of the troops. Now, that they were on the brink of revolt : again, that the crisis had passed over, and confidence reviving. At one moment urging me to march with the Raj troops on Neemuch ; at the next, begging me on no account to bring a Raj soldier within sight of the Cantonment.

In view of so conflicting a state of matters at Neemuch, he thought the best thing he could do was to ride straight in, alone, and move up some of the Rana’s troops to the contiguous frontier post of Chota Sadree, so as to be within call. He wrote to Colonel abbott of his intention, and suggested his sending out an escort of his Regular Cavalry

to meet me, if he thought such exhibition of confidence in his men would tend to keep them steady.

His preparations were made. The time (on the 3rd June) of his intended departure from Udaipu was at hand, when a hurried unfinished express from Lloyd, date 11 a.m. of the preceding day, was received, announcing the state of matters at Neemuch as nearly desperate, that the troops had obtained on demand ammunition for the guns, and were on the point of rising.

His contemplated journey alone was thus arrested. It only remained to move on Neemuch with Raj troops.

But how to get them ? The Maharana seemed stunned with the fast following blows to our power which threatened to leave him to combat alone the serious combination of disaffected Meywar Chiefs which had been banded against his authority in a smouldering chronic rebellion for some years previously. Nothing was talked of among the Ministers but concentrating the Durbar forces at Udaipur.[2]

This policy would most probably have been fatal to their position in Meywar, and certainly, as it turned out, to the British refugees who fled westward on the revolt of the Neemuch brigade (on the 3rd).

Impressed with the vital importance of open and active co-operation on the part of the Maharana, he sought an interview with His Highness.

Aware that in the excited state of feeling among his foreign mercenaries, his recent passage through the city to Durbar had nearly precipitated an emeute, His Highness in acceding to his request proposed

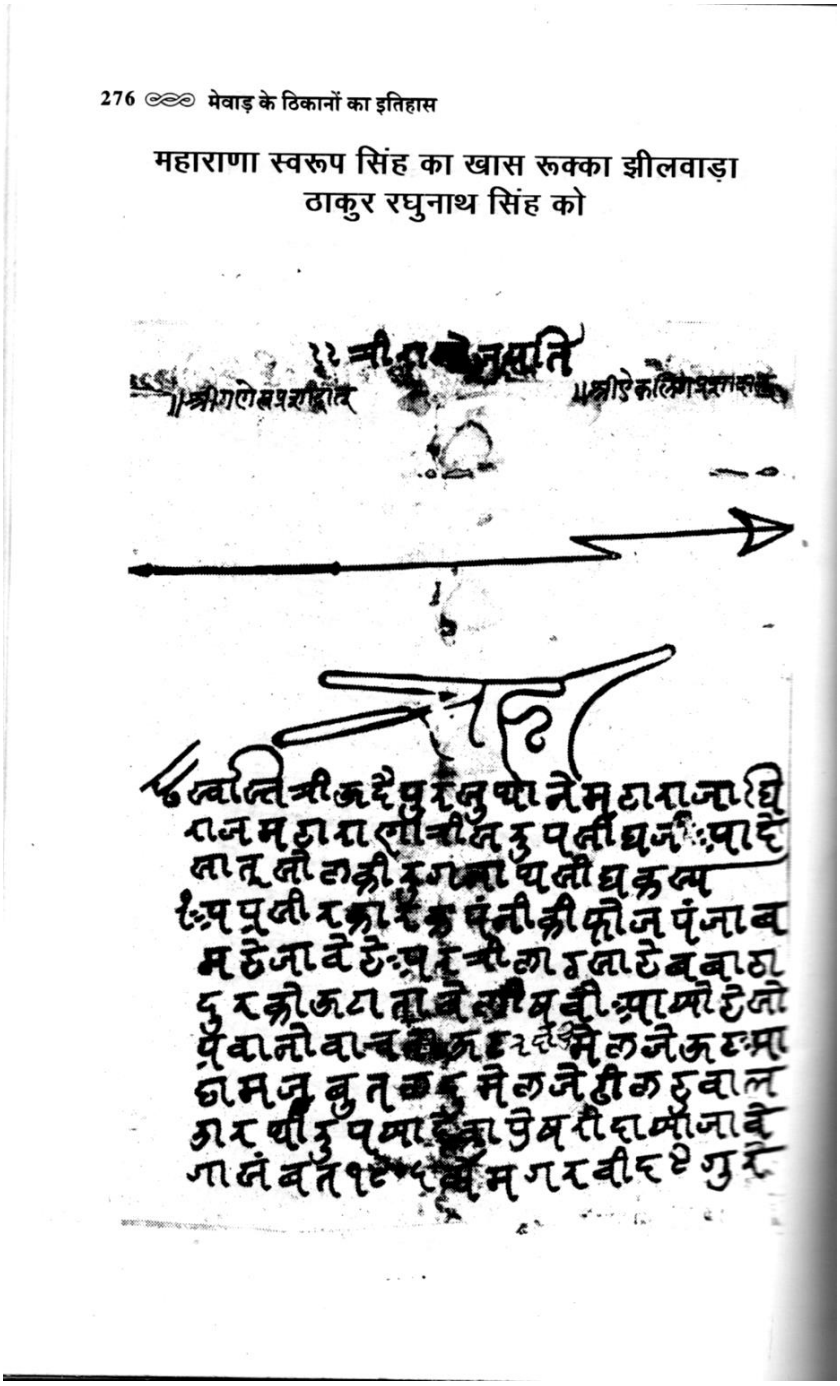
that they should meet on the margin of the lake, indicating a spot as the rendezvous to which he would cross in boats.

At the interview thus considerately arranged, seated together on a carpet spread on the bank, all attendants being retired out of ear shot, the subject of the Mutiny was discussed in all its bearings. The most important question was, how and placed on record his view of the danger of a general rising of the Native Army,he did not disguise his opinion that the Mutiny would be general, and that their position would be rendered critical – but only for a time – for he expressed a firm conviction that as soon as the intelligence should reach England, countless British Battalions would be fast poured into India to put down the revolt, when all who should be found to have stood by their cause and aided them in the hour of difficulty, would be rewarded. Such a policy of isolation would have practically abandoned the Neemuch refugees to their fate. It would, moreover, have retarded the recovery of position at Neemuch, which was attained through the aid of Udaipur troops. His openly declared espousal of cause, then, and immediate aid in troops, was all important at that crisis ; and these objects happily were secured before the conference broke up. Practical effect was given to this momentous decision by His Highness' most trustworthy troops being placed at his disposal to take the field, accompanied.

In the midst of these preparations, showing how urgent was the occasion, came intelligence on the 6th of the rise of the Neemuch brigade on the night of the 3rd. That it had come through native channels, unannounced by any official or other communication from any authority or officer of the garrison, warranted the worst conclusions. Lloyd's unfinished express of the 2nd was the last to hand. Hastening despetch, then, the column was ready to march when two officers of the Neemuch

force, Barnes of the Artillery, and Rose of the Infantry, rode into the Residency and reported that a party of over forty fugitives, women and children included, were gathered together at Doongla, a village about fifty miles distant, and bringing an express from Captain Macdonald, the senior officer of the party, describing their position as most critical and urgently calling for aid. Marched the same night in progress to the relief of the party, Barnes accompanying, Rose being too exhausted with the fatigue of their long and anxious ride to take the field again at the moment.

महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह का खास रूक्का झीलवाड़ा
ठाकुर रघुनाथ सिंह को



Letter of Maharana Soroop Singh to The Noble of Zilwara (1857)

An incident of the preparatory arrangements for taking the field may be here cited as at once illustrating a trait of Maharana Soroop Singh's fine character and conveying a lesson in Oriental diplomacy. On the Durbar Ministers calling to receive his instructions in virtue of the powers delegated by the Maharana, to his surprise Mehta Shere Singh,

the late deposed Minister, accompanied them. As he field in alongwith the others, he saw the situation at a glance. His Highness, reassured by his policy of strict non-intervention in disregard of the unconstitutional guarantee given by his predecessor to Mehta Shere Singh, as shown by the letter counter columned in the Supplementary Chapter, had voluntarily reinstated him specially to office to afford the aid of the ablest man at his Court which the Mehtajee (as he was familiarly called), was admitted to be.

But before leaving the Capital it was necessary to take thought for the maintenance of general tranquillity in Meywar. To this end, in communication with the Maharana, he issued a Proclamation notifying to the recausant Chiefs that on his early return to Udaipur. At the same time he warned all, that since general tranquillity in Meywar was essential at that juncture, any one, high or low. But little Government as by his own Sovereign. But little practical efficacy, however, could be expected from mere words at a juncture when the power of corresponding action seemed remote and proclamation, then, he advised the Maharana to defer the final settlement of two important questions of succession to Chief-ships pending at the time (viz., Amait and Bijolee) upon each of which respectively the most powerful Chiefs of the State were pretty equally divided ; but so complicated were the relations of parites in the two cases, that Chiefs who supported the pretensions of the same claimant in one case, found themselves ranged on opposite sides in the other. Some of the most powerful Chiefs in the State, Saloombra, Deogurh, Bheendur, Begoo, Gagoonda, found themselves thus situated-fortunately, in the interest of order, since by postponing the settlement of both questions in favour of either of the claimants respectively, parties in the State were held evenly balanced, and thus, as expectants, under a restraining

influence. The Maharana followed his counsel in these two questions with strict unbending reserve, but in great self-denial of his personal predilections in favour of one of the claimants in each case.

A further precautionary measure to be taken had reference to the troop of the 1st Bengal Cavalry on detachment duty at Kherwarra, the head quarters of the Meywar Bheel Corps. As a wing of this 1st Cavalry formed part of the revolted brigade at Neemuch, the isolated troops could hardly be expected to resist the temptation to join their comrades in mutiny, if an opportunity offered.hewas fortunate in having at Kherwarra, as Commandant of the Bheel Corps, and Superintendent of the Hilly Tract, that able officer, Captain, now Lieut. General J.C. Brooke, and Captain, now Major-General R.M. Annesley, second in command, holding respectively the official positions of 1st and 2nd Assistants to the Resident. By Captain Brooke's admirable arrangements the passes leading out of the Hilly Tract were closed, and the troop, under its gallant commander, Captain Ellice, was thus held in check.

Seeing that in view of the precautions taken their rising in a body was hopeless, they tried to desert individually, from time to time. But as often, the staunch little Bheels would be slipped after the fugitives, tracking them like blood-hounds, and invariably bringing them back prisoners.

The utter want of sympathy on the part of this contemned race of aborigines with the high-caste Hindoo or Mussulman of India exhibited by this incident, recalled a suggestion whichhehad submitted to Government in his official inspection Report of this Bheel Corps in 1850, seven years previously, that a certain proportion of the aboriginal races should be eligible for enrolment in the ranks of our native army, when the

distinction that good soldiers of these casteless races might gain on their military merits alone, would teach bigoted sectarians in our ranks that distinctions of creed did not enter into the composition of a disciplined soldier, whose highest religion should be his military duty. It goes without saying that had the suggestion in question, submitted at that early day, been adopted. The approach of the Mutiny would have found in the ranks of every regiment a few faithful among the faithless, to have warned their officers of the mischief that was brewing. On the final restoration of order the troop was disbanded.

केलवाड़ा पंचोली मोणीराम का पत्र झीलवाड़ा ठाकुर चंदन सिंह को 1857 की क्रान्ति से संबंधित

Letter related to Mutiny in 1857

That last and most important of the preliminary steps to be taken before marching from Udaipur was to report to Colonel Lawrence the energetic measures adopted by the Meywar Durbar for the attack of the Neemuch mutineers, in having placed its troops under his command on talking the field, and calling upon all faithful chiefs and district authorites to afford every aid, on his requisition, in our operations. Indicating then a

point, Sawar, in the north-east quarter of the Udaipur territory, through which he proposed pushing the mutineers in pursuit,heventured to hope that he would have a detachment of the European reinforcements from Deesa, which had been requisitioned among other precautionary measures before he left Aboo, moved to the point in question to intercept the retreat of the mutineers, when between the European Column in front and his pursuing force in rear, with the Meena tribes of the Khirwar on their flank, their destruction, as an organised body at all events, might be confidently expected.

3.3 Relief of Doongla –

Having been thrown late in the night of the 7th June, by the necessary arrangements for ambulance for the women, children, and sick of the party of refugees, so urgently indicated in Captain Macdonald's letter, it was not till long after nightfall of the following day that they approached Doongla. They had halted for a few hours at Khyroda on the way, to feed and water the horses and ambulance cattle. No report of anything from the front had reached that town, situate about half way between Udaipur and Doongla, so they proceeded on, cheered by the proberb that "no news is good news." Still, being aware that the mud walls of the village, undefended by guns or any other armament, could never resist an attack of the mutineers who knew were scouring the country in all directions, it was not without feelings of anxiety bordering on pain that they rode forward – Barnes and the Rao of Bedla riding by his side at the head of our little cavalcade. The short twilight had faded into night and the darkness again had been lit up by the rising moon, throwing long shadows along the glades of the park like scenery through which our track lay eastward, when about 10 o'clock the more than ordinarily dense foliage, denoting the site of an Indian village, betokened

our proximity to Doongla. At the distance of about half a mile, then, we called a halt to allow of the ambulance to lock up in rear of the column. Ah, that Mauvaisquarl-d'heure of suspense ! Hours, days months, years, hung upon the lagging minutes. No one spoke, but each read in the countenance of the other the "black care that was seated behind his own pommel." At length all being reported right in the rear, " Forward at a walk; march," was the word. Soon the grey walls of the village loomed into view : but all was still as death. Nearer, nearer, we cautiously advanced at a slow measured walk to guard against a surprise. Not a man of the enemy appeared in view – not a sound of horse, foot, orguns. Sweeping up then at a rapid trot under the walls, a feeble shout from the interior told that they had seen them, and the next moment Macdonald and Walker, Murray and others came rushing out of the gateway. "Thank God!" "Thank God!" was exclaimed and responded on either side as they met.

They found the refugees in the last stage of destitution, having escaped from the burning station with but their lives. Fatigue, anxiety, exposure and absolute want had done its work. Many were laid prostrate. The closeness and dirt of their confined retreat, in which cattle obtruded on the space allotted for the party, was causing sickness. Cholera had broken out. Davenport was lying dying. They could give no tidings of the rest of the fugitives from the station.

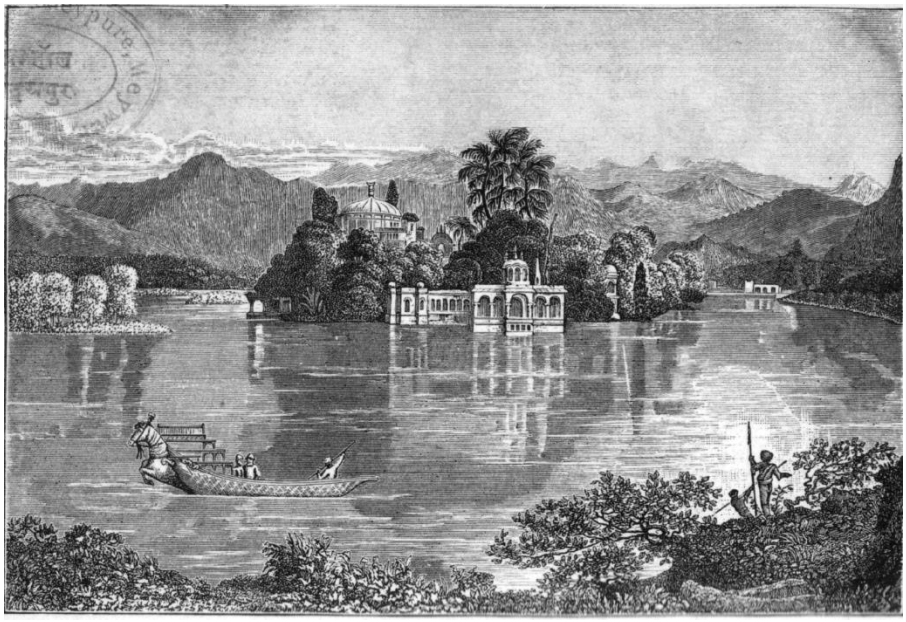
While the transport was being prepared for the conveyance of the party to Udaipur, the women and sick were reposing in a range of low thatched huts, forming one side of the confined square. On the terrace in front of the huts he was sitting with the officers, gathering such confused accounts as they could give of the rising at Neemuch. One clear fact stood out in undisputed lurid relief – that at the signal of two guns fired by the

artillery between eleven and twelve o'clock on the night of the 3rd and now a touching incident of the situation occurred, serving to show that certain passages in o lives imprint themselves so indelibly on the memory, that even in sleep they move us as if waking, and waking, abstract us from surrounding objects ; as if walking in a dream.[3]

With the officers listening to their several recitals of individual escape – the protection of two, in particular, by the people of an Udaipur village against the mutineers on a point of hounour, recalling the traditions of ancient chivalry, and the story of which will be told in its place-their talk was suddenly arrested by eavesed huts where the women were sleeping. On stepping out upon the floor of the terrace and standing erect, the now high-risen moon showed a lady in her white nightrobe. It was Mrs. Walker. Pausing for a moment to survey the group, she glided barefooted, noiselessly and swiftly across the terrace, and throwing her arms around her startled husband's neck, gasped out it agitated accents, "Edward! Dear Edward ! the guns have fired." The shock of that terrible incident, with its accompanying conflagration, had burned down upon her brain, and even in sleep recalled the fearful reality. Walker rose, reassuring her, and led her back to her trouble –tossed couch.

Short space, however, had the afficted somnambulist to recover from the shock of her harrowing nightmare. The fierce morning sun of an Indian June demanded timely starting over-night. And the Bedla Rao came to say that the transport for the conveyance of his charge is all ready. Advancing to meet him, the group walked out together to inspect the varied train ranged outside the walls to obviate confusion in setting off. There were palanquins for the women and children, and sick; pad elephants and horses for the officers and their servants ; carts and camels for the luggage, & c. Nothing had been forgotten. How well that

chivalrous Chief justified his confidence in fulfilling the chargehehad confided to him to escort the party to Udaipur, their safe arrival and convalescence of the sick, benefitting by the thoughtful arrangements made for their comfort, amply testified. How generously further the Maharana responded tohisappeal in favour of the refugees is already known. The protection he extended to them was gratefully acknowledged at the time by His Excellency the Governor-General in a khareeta to His Highness address, and afterwards by Her Majesty the Queen Empress, through her Secretary of State. A water palace on one of the beautiful Islands of the Lake was appointed for their residence, not less desirable as a secure retreat during the state of excitement at the Capital than as a pleasant and healthy abode. The gratified sense of safety and repose after all the dangers and trials they had gone through, was acknowledged by the refugees to have been enhanced by the cordial hospitality and personal visits of the Maharana. A report from his Assistant, Captain Annesley, who had been directed to proceed to Udaipur to receive and remain in charge of the refugees, dated from the **Jug Mundir Island Palace,** may be here quoted : "His Highness, the Maharana, paid us a very handsome compliment by coming here in person yesterday in his state barge to ascertain that we were provided with every comfort. He asked to see the children, and to each he gave with his own hand two gold mohurs. In the evening they were taken over to the Queen's, when the Rana again sent for each two gold mohurs in his own name, and two in that of the Ranee's. In fact, nothing could excel his civility and kindness."



Island and Palace of Jug Mundir, in the Lake of Udaipur

Before leaving the subject of the protection of the Neemuch refugees, he should be insensible ifhedid not take this opportunity of publicity expressing his gratification at the grateful acknowledgements tendered to me by the senior officer of the party, Major Macdonald, and the surgeon in charge, Dr. Murray, in the terms expressed in the subjoined letters, in recognition of the part which it washisgood fortune to be permitted to bear in securing their safety.

[Private]

From Major (now Major General) Macdonald,

Late Senior Officer of Party of Neemuch Refugees.

Dated 29th June, 1864

To Lieut-Colonel Showers,

On looking back to our first meeting at Doogla, it strikes me that he and his “party” have not been sufficiently demonstrative in acknowledging our obligations for your prompt action in our behalf, to which may fairly be attributed the safety, not of men only, but the

preservation from worse than death of the poor helpless women and children.

As Senior Officer whom you relived by timely succour of much anxiety and responsibility, he accept blame for not having led those who deeply felt their obligations to you in making their sentiments known ; but you must remember how at the time we were surrounded by dangers – how at once we separated in different directions, and how few of us have since met (of the whole) body of refugees he have now the address of Dr. Murray alone). Poor Davenport, both his sergeants, and many others, are no more.

As now anything approaching a united expression of thanks to you is impossible, perhaps the acknowledgements of the officer then in command may prove acceptable if rendered on behalf of all those whom you rescued in that miserable village of Doogla, and he feel Justified in this instance to speak for others, as the confidence your presence instilled in June, 1857, might be read in the faces of each man, woman, and (I may add) child of his charge.

J. Macdonald.[4]

From Dr. Murray,

Late Surgeon of party of Refugees.

Dated 7th April, 1863.

In truth our party owe much to you and to the Rana. I, for one, shall not soon forget the joy that was infused into our people when you made your appearance at Doongla at the head of our faithful allies. It was a period of very great anxiety and suspense. Had the Rana gone against us, no power on earth could have saved us ; and although there were

brave hearts among us, determined to uphold the honour of England to the last, and to sell our lives dearly, yet the bravest among us shuddered at the awful fate that, under adverse circumstances, would have awaited our country women and their little ones.

T.Murray.[5]

3.4 Mutiny at Neemuch –

The following officers of the refugee party accompanied as volunteers from Doongla in pursuit of the mutineers :

Captain Sir John Hill, Bart.,

Captain Elice,

Cornet Stapleton, Joined at Neemuch,

Lieutenant Barnes, Bengal Horse Artillery.

Doctor Murray, and

Staff Sergeants Supple, Nesbitt, Lane and Mellor.

Beating up for quotas of Horse at Burra and Chota Sadree, he directed the main body of his party to proceed from the latter post straight to Chitore, in the direct line of the rebel's retreat, myself riding round by way of Neemuch, accompanied by Barnes.

The charred and roofless walls of the fired dwellings stood out in harsh relief against the evening sky as we rode towards the ruined Cantonment, and as we passed through the silent streets the sense of desolation was heightened by the intelligence which had just arrived that the Mehidpoor Cavalry which was marching to reinforce Neemuch, had mutinied when within a few miles of the station, Murdered their officers,

Lieutenants Brodie and Hunt, and gone back to Mehidpoor to rouse and bring up the remainder of the Contingent.

Out of the full particulars of the rise of the troops, one striking incident of which may serve to throw some light on the causes of the general revolt, in corroboration of his recorded view.

Resuming the narrative of preceding events above detailed from the correspondence of the Military and Civil officers in the stateion, it would appear that after Colonel Abbott had got the native officers of the Brigade to swear in his presence that they would remain faithful to their duty, he paraded the troops and informed the men of the oath their native officers had taken for themselves and on behalf of the men ; then reminding them of the oaths they had themselves taken on enlistment, called upon all to stand firm in their allegiance. Hereupon a trooper of the Cavalry, by name Mahomed Ali Beg, stepped forth from the ranks and insolently addressing the officer Commanding, said, "What are our oficer's oaths to us ? Or even our own ? Why should we keep our oaths to you who have broken your own ? Have you not taken Oude ?"

In the dead of that night, at the report of two signal guns, every house in the station was simultaneously fired, and while the startled inmates fled in wild affright for their lives, the ringing shouts of an infuriated soldiery proclaimed that yet another brigade, horse, foot, and guns, had passed from their allegiance to a Government charged with breach of faith, to swell the ranks of an organized rebellion.

The bazaar had for some days been nearly deserted in anticipation of the approaching event. The European residents fled in all directions through the night ; the burning station and the destroyer behind, a wild and foreign country before and all around.[6]

A noble attempt was made to save the position by Captain Macdonald, Commanding 7th Infantry Regiment, Gwalior Contingent, ably supported by his officers Lieutenants Rose, Davenport, Gurdon, and Doctor Murray. A wing of the regiment was on duty in the fort. Immediately on the Regulars rising, the other wing of this Gwalior Regiment was marched in under Lieutenant Rose, and then with his whole regiment within the walls, Captain Macdonald prepared to defend the fort. From the appearance of staunchness in this regiment while the regular troops of the brigade were supposed to be wavering, the fort guards had been detailed exclusively from its ranks ; and certainly the marching into the fort of the wing outside at the command of its officers at the very moment when the other regular troops of the brigade had broken out into open revolt, seemed to afford a hope that this regiment would stand firm to their duty.

All Captain Macdonald's efforts however, during the long and anxious hours of that eventful night, proved of no avail. Though breaking out into no outrage the men at length told their officers that they could no longer obey them, and opening the gates implored them to fly and save their lives before the regulars came up. They then joined the general revolt, and the treasury being plundered, the whole brigade shared in the spoil.

Captain Macdonald and his officers on leaving the fort got separated in the melee, and fled in different directions. The lives of two of the party, Doctors Murray and Gane, were saved by the people of a neighbouring village of Udaipur, under circumstances which recall the traditions of the rude days of the ancient chivalry, when the point of honour stood barbaric races instead of the vaunted higher motives of our later veneered civilization, and more than half redeemed their savagery.

The first village these officers arrived at in their flight, was Kasoonda, of Udaipur. The head-men of the village received them most kindly, gave them food, and a place to rest in. Their repose, however, was but of short duration. Within an hour or two of their arrival at Kasoonda, a party of the revolted cavalry galloped into the village and demanded the refugees. They had been sheltered in a small walled enclosure, where the head-men of the village resided. These reassuring their guests the words of Doctor Murray's interesting narrative, "You have eaten with us, and are guests, and now if you were our greatest enemy we would defend you," – manned the walls, and refused to give up the officers. The soldiers threatened to bring guns, but nothing daunted, the villagers invoked the vengeance of their Suzerain, the Maharana, and maintained so bold an attitude that the mutineers were fain to retreat without effecting their vengeful object. At nightfall the head-men escorted the officers whom they had so nobly protected to the nearest military post of the Rana's, Chota Sadree, whence they proceeded and effected a junction with others of the refugees. "You have eaten with us and are our guests, and now if you were our greatest enemies we would defend you." Thus to the sacred obligation of the rights of hospitality in the barbarian breast, rights arising obviously out of a lawless state of society, when the protector of to-day might be himself a fugitive and a suppliant for protection to-morrow, do these two officers of the Neemuch garrison owe their lives.

His early public recognition of the conduct of the Kasoondaputtels by investing them with robes of honour (khilluts) in full Durbar, and the substantial grants of land by which the Maharana of Udaipur at his instance rewarded the good service towards our Government performed by his subjects, have already been duly reported. Government further on its own part, in pursuance of its expressed intention to reward the faithful,

bestowed a substantial money-reward on these meritorious men, and placed, in the construction of a well at Government expense, a lasting and useful monument in Kasoonda, of at once the noble conduct of its head-men and the gratitude of the British Government.

Doctors Murray and Gane were the last upon whose fate doubt hung. All then had escaped the immediate danger of the rise of the troops, except the wife and two children of Sergeant Supple of the Artillery, who were unfortunately massacred before the poor woman could effect her escape from the lines. The sergant himself, a brave and good non-commissioned officer, was doing his duty at the time in aiding his officers, Lieutenants Walker and Barnes, in the attempt, desperate under the circumstances, of suppressing the signalled revolt. It was not until these gallant officers were fired at by their men that they gave it up.

3.5 Action of British Armies Against Mutineers in Neemuch –

It had occupied but a few hours to gather the above details, when leaving at Neemuch, in attendance on the superintendent, Captain Lloyd, a confidential Durbar officer, who had control over the Raj troops at the neighbouring Meywar posts, and having been joined by Lieutenant Stapleton, Ist Bengal Cavalry, who volunteered for the pursuit, they rode on to overtake the party which had been ordered to march straight to Chitore.

On passing Neembaheraen route, where it was known the Neemuch mutineers had halted two days, he sent for the head official of the place, Bukshee Gholam Mohee-ood-een Khan. He came out, attended by a troop of armed men with lighted matches, himself holding a pistol in his hand, while answering evasively the question she put to him. On joining the party which had marched straight from Sadree upon Chitore, he learnt

that in passing Neembahera, they found the gates closed against them, and had to pass the heat of the day, the season being the hot winds in June, - under the scant shade of trees outside the walls of the place.

In reference to the complications at Neemuch, occasioned by the claim of the Gwalior wakeel to recover possession of the Jawad-Neemuch districts on behalf of his Sovereign in consequence of the revolt of the Neemuch Brigade, a brief historical retrospect is necessary in explanation.

3.6 The Role of Mewar during Mutiny –

The Jawad-Neemuch districts had originally formed an integral portion of the Udaipur territories. During the incursions in Rajputana of the combined forces of the Mahrattas and the Pathans, the latter under Ammer Khan, in the early part of the present century, the Jawad-Neemuch districts had been occupied by and finally ceded to the Mahrattas ; while certain other districts, Neembahera, Serong, Tonk, &c., had been occupied by Ameer Khan. During our was with the Mahrattas, it being an object of policy to detach Ameer Khan from his league with the Mahrattas, he was offered by the British Government, in pursuance of the Roman maxim, “divide and govern,” the sovereignty in and over all the detached portions of territory then in his possession. He closed with the offer, and was installed as Nawab of Tonk, the principal of the captured provinces then in his possession, eight in number. Thus, out of this dominion of spoil, was created the principality of Tonk. Administered as were the isolated districts comprising the same by semi-independent Amils, or Governors, we shall see by-and-by, in the complications ensuing, the defect of an arrangement so inherently devoid of healthy centralization. Most of the detached districts of this Mahomedan

principality sympathised with the Delhi dynasty during the Mutiny, and gave trouble. The Jawad-Neemuch districts had been assigned over to the British Government in course of the arrangements dictated to the Gwalior Durbar after the successful campaign of 1843, to provide for the due and punctual payment of the Gwalior Contingent force. The mutiny of the Contingent Brigade of all arms at Gwalior, as also of the contingent Regiment of Infantry at Neemuch, afforded a plausible pretext for intrigues on the part of the Gwalior Wakeel, for recovering possession of the assigned districts on behalf of the Durbar. The adoption of extreme measures towards that functionary was indicated by the Agent Governor General ; but since all apprehension on the score of integrity of territory had been obviated by our recovery of the station of Neemuch and occupying it in force,hereportedthatheproposed to formally dismiss the Wakeel, and request, through the Resident at Gwalior, that another might be appointed to replace him. This was to obviate the risk of the Gwalior Durbar taking offence.[7]

He may here transcribe extracts from his Progress Report of the 12th June, dated from Chitore, which may serve to give a general view of affairs in Meywar at that juncture :- “Having found many ladies and children in Fort Neemcuh, the families of officers who had fled in a different direction from Udaipur on the night of the mutiny,heexpressedhisview to Colonel Abbott, commanding the station, and Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent, that they ought not to be exposed to any furher risk, but sent to join the party at Udaipur, and he ordered an escort to be held in readiness to conduct them. It was anticipated, however, that the ladies would not go. Leaving the delicate negociation in the hands of those gentlemen he proceeded on, after but a few hours stay in Neemuch, accompanied by Stapleton, who had gallantly volunteered

for the pursuit, to overtake his camp here (Chitore), arriving last night. This morning however, the intelligence from Malwa in reference to the mutinied Mehidpoor contingent is of so dark a complexion that he shall write to urge that the wishes of the ladies may not be consulted in a matter of such moment to their safety, and that they may be forwarded to Udaipur under the Durbar escort told off for that duty. This source of anxiety being removed he shall be more at ease in following up the fast-retreating mutineers. A few more of our late marches, by which we have done some 120 miles in four days, must soon bring us up with them. He was most fortunate in being associated in the pursuit with a body of officers who enter thoroughly into the spirit of the thing, and go through all the fatigues and privations of such service at such a season of the year with admirable fortitude and cheerfulness. As the Nusserabad dak (post) appears to be open, hear from them as to whether may reckon on sending any force to obstruct the progress of the mutineers through the Ajmer district. If can send it will be most acceptable. Direct to Kekree, with which post will communicate, and which, indeed, will be advisable to occupy, as the rebels must pass pretty close to the town and may plunder it. “P.S. – There are no buns in the fort.heled Colonel Abbott to expect that he would get two nine-pounders which are attached to the Udaipur troops moved in; but the intelligence now received indicates such political complications that the setp of allowing Meywar to occupy the Neemuch fort with guns might give umbrage to the Gwalior Durbar- a result which at the present juncture might occasion serious aggravation to our general difficulties. He would beg to suggest then that you let me have two nine-poundres from the Ajmere magazine. If you can forward them to Bunairahewill detach a party to receive and escort them to Neemuch. Let me hear, please, on this head, outside dak, to Bunaira.

European gunners, if only a couple to accompany the guns, would prove of great use. All quiet internally in the Meywar State." [8]

C L Showers wrote on the same date (12th June) to Captain Lloyd, Superintendent Jowad-Neemuch districts, urging that the measure of the removeal of the ladies and children to Udaipur should be carried out without delay. Further, that an European officer should be appointed Postmaster and to have all native correspondence read before delivered, adding, that he would take the responsibility of officially sanctioning the measure, or any other that Colonel Abbott and himself may jointly consider expedient, and would write to Briagadier Macan at Nusseerabad suggesting the adoption of a similar measure of precaution at that post. This measure, on being reported, was followed up by the General order issued by the Government, No. 1, 456, dated 29th July, 1857, authorizing the chief Covenanted Civil or Military Officer at every station throughout India to assume, until further order, the office of Postmaster, or to assign the office to any other Covenanted Civil or Military Officer at the stateion. The following letter to Brigadier Macan, commanding at Nusseerabad, refers to the proposed combined attack on the mutineers.

(Dated) Camp Sanganeer,

15th June 1857

"His Dear Brigadier,

I have arrived thus far with a force of Meywar troops in pursuit of the Neemuch mutineers and we march to night to Shahpoora where we shall be within a forced march of them. They are marching vid Kekree, asheinformed Colonel Lawrence by letter a day or two ago.hehad previously written to him before leaving Udaipur, on the 7th inst., to say that he proposed pursuing the mutineers, and should be ready to co-

operate with such trush worthy Meywar troops as he could collect if he should think proper to move the Nusserabad Brigade to intercept them in their passage through the Ajmere district. Not having received any reply from Colonel Lawrence, and concluding that he is not in your neighbourhood, he think it right to submit the proposal he made to him for your consideration, and would bed the favour of an immediate answer. As the mutineers are marching daily, the question does not admit of delay. The vital importance of striking an effective blow on this body need not be dwelt on …. Even should the mutineers have passed Kekra before you could move to the attack, a hot pursuit would certainly disorganise them, and their guns, at least, fail into our hands, jaded as the cattle must already be by the hot pursuit he have carried through Meywar ….he have had great difficulty in keeping the post open, as the mutineers had organised a system of cutting off the runners. As these men have to thread their way through the jungle tracts in disguise their packets should be in the smallest possible compass." Suggesting, in conclusion, the appointment of an European Post Master, as adopted at Neemuch, to give us control over the native correspondence and to reduce the bulk of the packets for selected essential despatches.

C.L. Showers[8]

On the same date and place he addressed the following letter to Colonel Lawrence –

"My Dear Colonel,

I write a line, on the chance of its finding you at Nusserabad, to say that he have written to Brigadier Macan on the subject of the proposalhesubmitted to you before leaving Udaipur, and again while enreoute a day or two age, for attacking the Neemuch mutineers.hehope

you may have sent instructions to the Brigadier so that he may be prepared to act. Even if not in time now to take up a position ahead of them, a hot pursuit would soon disorganise them, and the gun – cattle being jaded from the pursuit through Meywar, the guns, at least, ought to fall into our hands. He can supply some thirty camels and three elephants to assist in mounting the Europeans. He shall await the Brigadier's answer at Shahpoora . . . We have overtaken and seized the two chuprassees who carried off your property. The house was sad scene of ruin, everything broken. The coachman took off your horses. Your loss has been, i fear, exceedingly heavy. Pray let me hear from you at Shahpoora.[9]

The Raos of Humeergurh and Mowah, both loyal Meywar chiefs, received the troup well in passing through the capitals of their chiefships, and joined their party in person with their respective quotas of horse.

3.7 Role of Shahpoora –

At Shahpoora, however, a chiefship holding possessions both under the Meywar and Ajmere, and owing a divided allegiance therefore equally to the British Government as to the Maharana of Meywar, the company experienced a change of wind. Found the gates of the fort closed, no peshwai, no supplies. They had heard that the mutineers had halted there. The report of the battle of Budla-ka-Serai, before Delhi, which arrived just at that juncture, effected and instantaneous change in the attitude of the Shahpoora people. It was not aware at the time of how prominent a part the lamented Brother had had in that action. It was magnified by rumour into the fall of Delhi. And similarly magnified, it may here be observed once for all, was every report, good or bad, that almost daily floated upon the wind throughout the critical period of the

rebellion ; each success before Delhi gave in remote parts the temporary advantage of a retrieval of position ; while, on the other hand, each disaster anywhere – and how many and fast following and terrible they fell – was knelled as a final catastrophe, and tended to complicate seriously the difficulties of situation.

The troup had (the 16th) arrived within a forced march of the rebels, but no communication from the officiation Agent Governer, Brigadier-General Lawrence, had reached conveying the expected instructions regarding the combined plan of attack on the mutineers, which, as stated, he had submitted for his consideration by express before taking the field at Udaipur, on the 7th. In that letter, he had indicated Sawur as the point in the Ajmere district through which, he was of opinion, from his knowledge of the country, the mutineers would pass. They passed through and halted at the very place. He subsequently addressed the Agent Governer-General, on the 15th from Sanganeeren route. No preparations, however, having been made to intercept the mutineers, or to cover the military station of Deolee, lying a few miles beyond the proposed position to be taken up at Sawur, the mutineers had passed on unopposed and burnt Deolee, after seizing two pieces of ordanance and the whole magazine in store there. A staff sergeant with ten women and children left at Deolee, had to fly for their lives, and having been rescued by the Udaipur authorities of Jehazpoor, were brought into the camp.

Proceeded straight from Shahpoora to Jehazpoor, marching by day in expectation of intercepting the revolted mehidpoor Cavalry, which Corps, 600 strong, had certain information from Neemuch, had passed at some distance from that Station, making northward vid the Madulgurh route, and ought by calculation to be approaching our line of march.

On the march, the next morning intelligence was brought to at Jehazpoor that this body of mutineers has crossed the line of march but a few hours after the troup had passed, and had proceeded vid Sawur, to effect a junction with the Neemuch mutineers who had waited for them at Deolee.

Showers was still without any communication from General Lawrence, nor did any force appear to be approaching from Nusseerabad.

At length, on the 20th, an answer received definitively negativing, as will be seen by the appended extract from General Lawrence's letter of the 16th,his suggestion for a combined attack on the mutineers on account of the risk of Ajmere rising if the force were to move from Nusseerabad. The same express brought an answer from Brigadier Macan, dated the 18th (copied in Appendix), written after communication with General Lawrence, and concurring with his superior in regard to the operation in question on precisely the same ground. There remained no alternative then, after having carried the pursuit without halt to the frontier post of Mewar, accomplished moreover through the hot winds in the month of June, by day marches for the most part under a burning sun, with not a tent among the party, - no alternative left but to allow the Neemuch Brigade to proceed on to Agra untouched.

3.8 Measures Taken by the British to Suppress of Mutiny –

In submitting suggestions for attack on the mutineers he was influenced by the following considerations , which ,he had hoped , might have weighed with General Lawerence to dispel the apprehension of Ajmere rising in the event of the force being temporarily moved from the vicinity to secure so great an object, viz. :- as Ajmere had not risen , not attempted to rise , nor had any disturbance in the district broken out

during the whole month immediately succeeding the first crash of the rebellion at Meerut and Delhi , on the 10th and 11th may , although there was not a single European soldier not only at or near Ajmere , but not in the whole of Rajputana, and notwithstanding the strong incitements to insurrection offered by the revolt of the Nusseerabad troops in its immediate vicinity on the 20th may, and of that of the Neemuch brigade on the 3rdjune, - if with such opportunities and incitements to rise , Ajmere had remained quiet throughout the first eventful month which saw the seemingly immovable power so rudely shaken, should it have been assumed that that city and district would infallibly rise after the British European troops had appeared on the scene if they should be temporarily moved to a short distance in pursuance of a vigiorous strategy, which in itself might have appeared calculated, judging by the sedative effect produced by vigorous action elsewhere, to hold the inhabitants in awe. Further, although there is a Muslim shrine of great sanctity at Ajmere, yet the Muslim community, comprising some six or seven hundred families, which subsist upon the wealthy community at such a period of religious excitement, danger might under ordinary conditions have been apprehended, lay from the very circumstance of their ample means of subsistence in the land, under a powerful restraining influence. Isolated as this Muslim community was in the heart of Rajputana, it seemed to me as very improbable that they would commit themselves, and risk their secure livelihood by rising against our Government unless their cause had conclusively triumphed at Delhi, and support from their co-religionists was at hand. Again, the population of the city of Ajmere being mostly Hindu, including great numbers of wealthy merchants and bankers, the instincts of such a class might be expected to range them with their followers on the side of order as opposed to anarchy.

The immediate advantages that might have been expected in his opinion to flow from attacking the mutineers, as proposed, were the probable disorganization and dispersion of the Neemuch and Mehidpore mutineers in detail ; the saving of the British Station of Deolee with its ordnance, magazine, & C., and especially as the warning the fate of these mutineers would have presented to the secretly disaffected in the several stations in Central India, which afterwards rose, Mhow, Indore, Augur, &C., and in all other lying far removed from the principal seat of the rebellion, Delhi – to all such the example might have operated as a deterrent. A letter from Durand dated Indore, 29th June, 1857, describing his critical position there, concludes with these words: I wish Lawrence had struck a blow words evidently wrung from him in bitternes of heart in clear apprehension of the brewing storm that burst upon him but two days later. On the other hand – reversing the picture – by the Neemuch mutineers being suffered to pass openly through the country unchallenged, without a blow being struck at them by the British power directly assailed in its highest imperial interests, not only were these probable advantages lost ; but the disaffected throughout the country were encouraged by the apparent abandonment of the position and prestige of a ruling power involved in such tacit acquiescene in the mutiny of our troops, to join the movement which seemed in the ascendant, and at any rate, safe. Thus, when the Neemuch Brigade marched from the plundered station of Deolee, it represented with the Mehidpoor Cavalry, which had there joined it, and its additional trophy guns, a formidable military force invested with a prestige that was calculated to conciliate support to its ranks. On then it rolled, gathering as it went.

3.9 Mutiny in Tonk –

At Tonk, the capital of the Muslim principality of that name – a dominion of spoil as above described – the mutineers were cordially welcomed and entertained, and joined by a large body of the population of that place, soldiery and other. Thus reinforced the mutineers marched upon Agra ; and it was only on this formidable band of the insurgents appearing before the Capital of the Government of the North Western Provinces, that the Kotah contingent, stationed at Agra at the time, and which had stood true for nearly two months of the insurrection, revolted and joined the mutineers.

The Agra Garrison marched out on the 5th July, and gave battle to the rebels, but was compelled, mainly by the fire of the Deolee guns, to retire within the walls of the Fort, leaving the assailants in full possession of the Station, Military and Civil.

The Capital was laid in ruins. The Lieutenant Governor with the whole garrison shut up within the walls of the fort. The jail burst open and thousands of desperadoes let loose upon the world.

With this accession of strength in numbers and prestige the Neemuch mutineers joined their brethren in rebellion at Delhie, to give as might be expected under the circumstances, that support and impetus to the movement that urged the three days vigorous attack on the British position on the 14th, the 18th, and 20th July, by which Brigadier Wilson lost the services of hundreds of men of his already slender band, and was placed for the time on the defensive.

3.10 Role of Saloombra in Mutiny –

When the attack on the Neemuch mutineers by the proposed combined operation had been conclusively abandoned it only remained for me to return southward to provide for the safety of Neemuch, and to take measures to hold in check the disaffected Chiefs of Meywar. The principal of these seemed disposed to take advantage of the revolt of the British troops as a favourable opportunity of carrying their points against their Sovereign, or breaking out into open rebellion to set up, as was threatened, a rival to the throne.

Having received intelligence that the remaining arms of the Mehidpoor Contingent, Infantry and guns, were about to follow the revolted cavalry, which had come up through the Mandulgurh pass, we marched, on returning towards Neemuch, by that route in the hope of intercepting them. The report however proved unfounded.

After closing and occupying that pass, then, the Rao of Begoo was visited in passing homewards, and bespoke active co-operation of his Chief. He responded well to the call is proved by his occupying and holding the frontier British posts of the tract under the Neemuch Superintendency, formerly his own possessions, on the occasion of the general revolt of the British district authorities, when the rebel Mundisore Shahzada claimed their allegiance. In recognition of this important service, Government bestowed a Khillut on the Begoo Chief.

On return to Neemuch the general insurrection had made such head, and aspect of affairs around this isolated post was so threatening in view equally of the attitude assumed at that juncture by the recusant Chiefs of Mewar, as of impending irruptions of rebels from without, that it was deemed expedient to remove the party of women and children of

the refugees left at Neemuch to a place of comparative safety as indicated by the presence of European troops. The Saloombra Chief, indeed (the head of the faction) had gone so far as to threaten open rebellion for the object of deposing the Maharana and setting up a rival to the throne at the ancient Capital, Chitore, if His Highness did not at once accede to all his demands ; a term even was fixed, eight days being specified as the limit of his forbearance. The serious complication occasioned hereby may be inferred from the measures which Sir Henry Lawrence had thought it necessary to recommend to the adoption of Government in his case in view of the contumacious and defiant bearing o this Chief even in presence of full power anterior to the Mutiny. The measures in question were distinctly set forth in para. 13 of the Agent Governeor-General Sir Henry Lawrence's Report of the 5th February. 1857, and comprehended the displacement of the Saloombra and Bheender Chiefs from their Chiefships through the employment of two strong columns of British troops, and their banishment from Rajputana. How rising rebellion in Meywar was kept down at the juncture in question byhiscounsel to the Maharana on the one hand to stand firm, andhispregnant warning to Saloombra on the other, was fully reported inhisletter No. 27 of 30th January, 1858. The incident may be here briefly related as introducing a perhaps not uninteresting episode.[10]

The Chiefship of Saloombra is the most powerful of the sixteen principal fiefs of the Udaipu State. The Rajput Premiership, or dignity of Military Minister, as distinguished from the office of Civil Minister, being hereditary in the family, the Rawat of Saloombra is invested with certain special privileges. For instance, when a Rana of Udaipur leaves the capital, he has the government of the city and charge of the palace during his Highness absence. By his hands the Sovereign is girt with the

sword, and from him he receives the mark of inauguration on his accession to the throne. Saloombra leads, by right, the van in battle, and in case of the siege of the capital, his post is the Soorug – pal (the sun Gate), and his residence the fortress that crowns it. Another of the recognised privileges of the feudal tenure under which the Rawats of Saloombra hold is, that on the succession of a new Chief to that principality, the heir-apparent to the Udaipur State should proceed in person to Saloombra to perform the mutual ceremony of "griding on the sword," and conduct the new Chief to the capital to be formally invested. Now, since at the period in question, the Maharana Soroop Singh having no son, there was no heirapparent when Rao Keseri Singh succeeded to the principality of Saloombra, the Maharana proposed to depute the hight Chief at his Court (the Rao of Bedla) to proceed to Saloombra to perform the ordinary ceremony. But to this arrangement the proud Keseri Singh objected, and demanded that, in the absence of an heir, the Maharana himself should proceed in person to Saloombra to conduct him to Court for investiture. This demand was held by the Maharana to be preposterous, and as such was rejected. Hence the recusancy of Rawat Keseri Singh. Some of the other Chiefs, moreover, had more legitimate cause of grievance against their Suzerain, because of his desire to commute the service of their retainers into money payments – an innovation on feudal usage affecting their dignity. This grievance Rao Keseri Singh shared in common with his compeers : consequently at the juncture in question the league of recusant Chiefs which he headed constituted a source of danger to the public peace in Meywar, in view of the temporary weakness of the paramount power through the outbreak of the Mutiny. The incident in question, then, head reference to the demand of the Saloombra Rao for the personal proceeding of the Maharana to Saloombra to conduct him to Court – reiterated at this conjuncture with a

threat that, if still refused, he would set up a rival to the Gadee (throne) at the ancient Capital of Chirote,in the person of a scion of a collateral royal branch – a term of eight days being given for compliance. The Maharana sent this ultimatum on the part of his rebellious feudatory by a confidential messenger, seeking counsel.

The scheme was well planned. The historic associations, at once proud and mournful, clustering, like its native ivy, round the bettling battlements of the isolated hill fortress of Chitore, surmounted by the lofty kirtrustromb (column of victory), towering into view for miles around, were well calculated to lend prestige to the movement, as recalling to the warlike "children of the sun" (SuneaMookee) the glories of their ancestors centring in that spot. "There is a sanctity in the very name of Chitore," according to the Meywar very name of Chitore," according to the Meywar tradition, "which from the earliest times secured her defenders." Its mournful memories, again, recalling the terrible disasters which ultimately occasioned the change, between three and four hundred years ago, in the seat of Government from the isolated hill fortress of Chitore to its present sheltered site, Udaipur, naestled at the base of the Aravulli Mountains, would equally serve to kindle emotion and soften the heart to receive whatever impression might be sought to be imposed by the designing. The Ranas of Udaipur had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the jealousy of the Mahommedan Emperors of Delhie by the independent attitude they, alone of all the Rajput princes, assumed in refusing to give a daughter of their house in marriage to the royal bed. They had thus to endure successive invasions from the affronted Suzerains to the last and final catastrophe. Peerless Pudmani ! proud yet sad, at once, thy fate ! – destined

'Like another Helen.

To fire another Troy !'

and thyself to perish in the flames ! But let me tell as 'twas told to me, and bespeak the sympathy ofhisreaders for as heroic and sad a legend as Romance ever wove out of Fancy's fairy web ; yet ture withal, as attested by the ruined battlements and crumbling palaces amidst which the scene is laid. [11]

3.11 Neembahera during Indian Mutiny –

The Commandant, Colonel Jackson, promptly compled with his requisition to move out a force for the reduction of Neembahera, if it should be found requisite. His entire concurrence in his view of the vital necessity of occupying that place as stragetic measure, may be gathered from the fact of the difficulties in respect of his Native troops in the face of which he undertook the service. The reliableness of every man in the Native ranks under his command was a matter for the Commandant's calculation. Which to leave behind was as critical a question as which to take. For since but a score of our small detachment of the 83rd (one company in all, reduced by sickness) could be left in charge of the Fort, the chances of a coup de main in our absence were to be guarded against. Colonel Jackson's dispositions were most judicious. Having selected such of the Native troops as he considered most trustworthy, previous to the march of the expeditionary force, on out post duty into the district, a reliable body of Meywar troops being placed at his disposal by myself to strengthen the slender garrison told off for the occupation of the post during our absence.

These dispositions being made, a force as per margin marched on the night of the 18th September, on Neembahera, on appearing before the

place the following morning, we were joined by a Contingent of Meywar troops, which in virtue of the general authority of the general authority delegated to me by the Maharana under his signmanual he had directed to rendeazvous there. The presence of these in the that field, as showing that the Ruler of the surrounding country was heartily on our side, he thought might not be without its effect on such of our native troops as it had been found necessary to take on the service, and tend to steady them. It was for this object principally that the contingent was called out. Requesting Colonel Jackson to halt his force before crossing the stream flowing under Neembahera, he sent a written summons to the Amil by the hand of one of his Chobdars (mace – bearers) to surrender the place to the safe keeping of the British Government till the troubled times should be past, and himself to come out at once to his head quarters in the field in token submission.

While awaiting the issue of this missive, it may be as well to give a brief sketch of the place before which we had sat down. Neembahera, the capital of the district of that name, is a walled town of just one mile less thirty-three yards in enceinte, the for tifications consisting of nineteen bastions, affording good flanking defences, mean thickness of rampart eight feet of solid stone masonary, of parapet three feet of stonemasonry ; wet ditch and berm ; height of wall ranging from 12 to 20 feet, according to undulation of ground ; four gates, three covered by horn-works of stone, and one by an extensive out-works of stone, and one by an extensive out-work defended by outer gates, capable in itself of independent defence. The town contains in itself of independent defence. The town contains about one thousand houses, some capable of detached defence, so that the entrance of an enehismight prove but the commencement of his operations for the reduction of the place.

In answer to his summons to surrender the place the headmen appeared, and expressed a readiness to comply. But when it was demanded to give effect to the proffered surrender by disarming the garrison, they feigned inability to control their men. That there never was any real intention to surrender the place, may be inferred from the complete preparations that had been made for defence (their guns even being shotted and replying instantaneously to our first discharge) and from the circumstance of his Chobdar who had been sent in with the summons, being cut down by the Bukshee (chief hereditary official of Neembahera) with the taunt, as the "servant of a Christian," when the gates were slammed to with a shout of defiance. Upon this we commenced operations.

Our guns had been advanced by successive positions to within 150 yards of the East gate, which formed the point of attack, the infantry skirmishing up under the walls keeping down the enemy's fire from the works, round and chain shot, and musketry. Our attempt to blow open the gate had failed, Corporal Young, 83rd Foot, heading the powder-bag party, having been shot down. No lodgement had been effected nor any impression apparent made upon the place, when, within half-an-hour of sunset Lieutenant Barnes, Horse Artillery, came up to the positionhehad taken up at the moment, with Lieutenant Couchman, Artillery, in the Mortar battery, and informed me that the Commandant, being hors de combat, a retreat had been ordered on Neemuch. He should under any circumstances have considered it may duty to remonstrate against a step which could not fail to prove more disastrous to British interests in Meywar, on account of the failure of the expedition, than if we had never moved out from Neemuch against Neembahera ; but being senior in arhisrank to Captain Reade, the Officer next in seniority rank to Captain

Reade, the Officer next in seniority on the spot to the Commander in the field, and who had ordered the retreat, he exerted his military rank, and at once countermanded it.

Halting the retiring divisions then, when out of point-blank range, I ordered the troops to bivouac for the night as evening was falling, but before dismissing them I thought it as well to address a few words to the men to remove any possible depression that the order for retreat on Neemuch might have occasioned. The hearty British cheer that rung from the 83rd men on my telling them that the attack would be renewed before daybreak in the morning was an earnest of success.

The enemy fired at intervals throguout the night, but watch fires being prohibited in our camp, no loss was sustained. His last gun was fired about three in the morning.

The gate, against which the attack had been directed during the day, having resisted all our efforts (found afterwards to have been partially bricked up), it was determined to make the attack the following morning at another point. The troops were under arms before daybreak, and the column of assault formed. On moving to the attack the place was found evacuated.[11]

Detachments of the Cavalry were ordered in pursuit of the fugitive garrison. Two parties were overtaken and captured, and among them three of the principal officials. The Bukshee, however, chief permanent official of Neembahera, whose hostility to the British from the earliest days of the disturbances has benn already instanced, made good his escape, and fled straight to Mundisore, and joined openly, as a leader, the rebels with whom he had been discovered to be secretlyin correspondence.

3.12 Role of Tara Chand Patel of Nimbahera in Mutiny –

The british troops were then marched through the town in procession, and the british flag hoisted on the walls with every observance calculated to enhance in the eyes of the Native troops the value of the service the had performed, and the estimation in which it was held by the authorities. This latter object was further promoted by the distribution, subsequently, of a gratuity to the troops, and of special rewards conferred at a public Durbar to those who had most distinguished themselves. Some of the wall guns in Neembahera were found as had been represented, equipped as field artillery, and fresh gun carriages in hand, half finished.

A solemn act of stern justice, and equally demanded by policy at the juncture, was performed on the occupation of Neembahera. The head putel (chief village authority) of the place was executed at a public parade of the troops by being blown from a gun as reported in my letter No. 286 of 2nd December, 1857, for aiding and abetting gross violence done to my Chobdars, who had been sent into the place, bearing my summons to the Amil, and having done all in his power to compass their destruction, one of the them being cut down. The punishment of death, which by the laws of all nations is awarded to the party that respects not the sacred office of a herald, was in this putel's case doubly merited, inasmuch as his own office, as the chief village authority, demanded co-operation in, rather than opposition, to the efforts being made through my messengers to avert hostilities, which if once commenced, must endanger indiscriminately the safety of the peaceful inhabitants of the town.

The effect of the operations generally upon the native troops was most salutary. The apparent confidence shown in taking them on service

had reassured them, and although incited to join the rebels by the flag of religion (Deen Ka jhunda) being hoisted on the walls before the attack commenced, and themselves called upon to join in the crusade against the British infileds, not a man wavered. On the contrary, the Native troops vied with their European comrades in skirmishing up to within one hundred yards of the walls, and when volunteers for the powder-bag party were called for, many sprang forward. Subsequently the success, its prompt recognition, and the indication generally of our reviving power, fixed their wavering loyalty.

And indeed the service itself was worthy of recognition, considering the handful of men engaged in the reduction of so completely fortified a town, and accomplished with the loss of but 24 casualties, including two European Officers, wounded. The result of the measure may well be admitted as important, seeing that besides the saving of our Native troops, it secured our communications with Nusseerabad, and above all restored British prestige which, apart from the blow our power had received by the general rebellion (and as yet Delhi even had not been retaken), was suffering at Neemuch from its being supposed that we were cooped up within our entrenchments, awaiting succours. The impression was natural enough, - outer world being of course in ignorance of the precautionary object, in reference to the condition of our own Native troops, that had suggested the plan of an entrenchment camp under the guns of the Fort. The marching out, however, to the attack of a hostile post, and its occupation, wholly improved the aspect of our affairs. Concurring intelligence from Mundisore informed us that, so far from further talk about attacking Neemuch, the rebels lived in constant apprehension of an attack from us, and from another seriously disturbed quarter, Kherwarra, Captain Brooke, Superintendent Hilly Tract, wrote,

that the effect of the measure had been bery beneficial in his neighbourhood. At home, within the Station of Neemuch, the changed deportment of the Native troops inspired general confidence. For the first time since the commencement of the mutiny we were absolutely at ease ; freed not only from apprehension of attack from without, but also from the not less serious, and infinitely more harassing danger of recurrence of attempted risings among our own troops.

With the occupation of the capital, the whole province of Neembahera fell at once into our possession. In arranging for the Civil Administration, the outline of which was sketched in para. 18 of my despatch of 28th September, 1857, it was my endeavour, as observed, "to let the change of rule in Province which as necessitated by strategic and political considerations, bring no violent change of circumstance or condition to the people whose lot it had been to pass under many changing yokes." All the district officials who remained at their posts were confirmed in their offices, existing land tenures left undisturbed, local privileges and prejudices respected. From that day to the present, a period of nearly two years, order in the capital and internal tranquillity throughout the Province of Neembahera, though tried by several irruptions of rebel forces into Meywar, has remained uniformly undisturbed. From this the prosperity and contentment of the people may be inferred.

3.13 Role of Thakur Kushal Singh of Ahwa against The British –

Greatly, however, as the occupation of Neembahera had improved our position at Neemuch, and in Meywar generally, it was in respect of its retrieving effect, as a counterpoise to the check at Ahwa, of Marwar (which, by a singular coincidence, occurred on the very same day) that

the highest and most important advantage was derived. A powerful British column, including European Infantry and Artillery, under the personal command, as well as political guidance, of at once the highest Military and political authority in Rajputana, Brigadier General Lawrence, being repulsed in an attack on a feudal chief of one of the States, and forced to retire altogether from the field, was at such a crisis sufficiently serious. The disaster was aggravated by the loss of the Political Agent of the district (the chivalrous and lamented Monck Mason), who, having ordered to meet General Lawrence before Ahwa on a fixed day, found on arriving there that the force he expected to find had retreated, when he fell into the hands of the rebels, was killed, his head cut off and placed over the gateway of the fort. A reverse so aggravated was obviously calculated, in the inflammable state of the country arising from the general rebellion, to excite a combination of all the disaffected elements in Rajputana, and thus spread a general conflagration. Powerful elements of such combination existed in abundance in the league of recusant Marwar chiefs on the one side, and of which Ahwa was the head, and in the still more powerful league of the rescusant Chiefs of Meywar, on the other side of the border (these last, it must be remembered, having, even in the full tide of our power, displayed such contumacy towards the British Government in the person of the late Political Agent, General Lawrence, as to induce the late Agent Governor-General, Sir Henry Law-rence, to recommend to Government, that the two chiefs at once most prominent in contumacy and most powerful, viz., Saloombra and Bheendur, should be forcibly ejected and deposed from their chiefships by the march into Meywar of two stong British columns. From the closeness of the bond subsisting between the Chiefs in question on both sides of the border, and the promptings of clanship and identity of class interests, the temporary success in rebellion of the Ahwa Thakoor

Kushal Singh might have emboldened the recusant Meywar Chiefs to take advantage of the general insurrection in India and make common cause with him and his confederates. That they were urgently invited to do so, and with assurances that the aid of the King of Delhie had been solicited, conclusive proof is afforded by the intercepted letters from the Ahwa Chief to Saloombra, despatched immediately on his repulsing General Lawrence's attack. Copy with translations of the same were forwarded to the Agent Governor- General for submission to the Government in myletter No. 90, dated 25th March, 1858. The originals are in my office. Had the Meywar Chiefs joined the Marwarees, the bulwark that Meywar has presented between the insurrections in Marwar, on the one side, Kotah on the other, and Malwa on the shouth, would have been removed. The rebel forces uniting, and finding us moreover with wavering Native troops and an ill-furnished magazine, I need hardly point to the consequences of such a state of things.

On the very same day, however, that the check at Ahwa was received, Neembahera was occupied, as above noticed. Considering the attitude of the Meywar Chiefs as illustrated by the reference to Sir Henry Lawrence's plans for their coercion when power was on our side, and the temptations herein afforded by the Ahwa Chief's success, it may reasonably be assumed that they were restrained at this critical juncture, mainly by the sign of reviving power of the British arms in Meywar, as exhibited by the capture of Neembahera.

And yet with respect to this measure of public safety taken at a period of public safety taken at a period of public danger, Brigadier-General Lawrence, my departmental chief, at a distance, objected in the first instance to the proposal, disapproved after the accomplishment, and recommended to Government that Neembahera should be at once

restored to Tonk. He would appear (as submitted in my letter No. 188, of 18th September) to have regarded the question exclusively as a local one, and to have over-looked the complications in the contiguous province of Malwa, which, in my central position between two jurisdictions, forced themselves on my attention, and demanded my constant vigilance and frequent active interposition. For the action of the Central India Agency was totally suspended on my borders, consequent on the insurrections in that province. In my Neembahera despatch, dated 28th September, 1857, I had recommended that the measure having been taken partly on strategical considerations, military possession of walled town should be held, at all events, till the troubled times should be past. That Neembahera has been retained in our hands to the present day, may be held to afford, practically, a recognition by Government of the weight of the considerations in view of which my responsible action was taken at the juncture in question.

I may here append in margin a letter to my address from the late Brigadier-General Sir Richmond Shakespear, the Resident of Baroda, and commanding Northern Divison of the Bombay Army, expressing his opinion at the time of our position in Marwar and Rajputana generally, and the salutary effect of our operations against Neembahera, Sir Richmond coupled his permission, on referring to him about quoting his opinion, with the provisio that it should be added that he was not aware when he conveyed the same to me that my attack at Neembahera had been made contrary to General Lawrence's views. This, however, but adds weight obviously to the involuntary testimony he bore to the soundness of my policy.

Another testimony bearing the imprimatur of official authority may also be cited in support of my policy and its practical tendency to restore

British prestige, so seriously shaken in Rajputana at that juncture, viz.: that of the Lieutenant-Governor North West Provinces, Mr. E.A. Reade, the common Superior at the time of General Lawrence and myself. The following are the terms in which he reported to Government the two events at Ahwa and Neembahera :-

Lieutenant – Governor's Report

"The intelligence which has been received from Rajuputana is not satisfactory, though of varied character. Colonel Lawrence has had a conflict with the mutineers of the Jodhpoor Legion, now in concert with the rebel Kushal Singh Thakoor of Ahwa, without results; and the death of Captain Monck Mason, the Political Agent of Jodhpoor in an attempt to join him, is a great loss to the public service."

"At Neembahera, an outlying portion of Tonk, Captain Showers has succeeded against some insurgents, and obtained possession of their guns."

3.14 Siege And Operations of Fort Neemuch –

Had General Lawrence confined his disapproval of my measure to communication the same to myself, and submitting to Government such recommendations as he thought fit on the subject, no harm could have accrued. But departing wholly from ordinary official usuage, he proclaimed to the Military Authorities at Neemuch, in communications addressed to them, in his capacity at that time of Commander of the troops in Rajputana, his disapproval of my Neembahera policy, a question which in no way concerned them. The tendency of such a proceeding was obviously to affect my position relatively to the Military Authorities, my

coadjutors in the the preservation of order in Meywar. And hence it came about, as might have been foreseen from such proclaimed official difference with myself by our common official Superior, that both my military and civil coadjutors at Neemuch were encouraged to overlook my ayuthority as unnecessary in their proceedings. So impressed was I with the mischief to the public interests of such a state of things, - of the positive danger that in the still disturbed state of India might accrue from the want of co-operation between the authorities at Neemuch, that I considered it my duty to bring General Lawrence's proceedings above referred to prominently under the notice of Government, vide my letter No. 232 dated 19th October, 1857.

My impressions herein were unfortunately too soon cinfirmed. Neemuch had enjoyed the repose secured to us by the occupation of Neembahera but little more than a month, when an incident occurred, from which, through the manner in which it was dealt with, the most untoward results ensued.

A body of 400 men had been despatched from Mundisore on the 22nd October, to intercept a convoy of ammunition which was erroneously reported to have left Jowra for Neemuch, and which they expected to fall in with at Kungetee, on the Neemuch road. Being disappointed of their booty they made an unpremeditated raid on the adjoining village of Jeerun, lying within the assigned district under the Superintendency, distant about 10 miles from Neemuch.

The first intelligence of the apprehended approach of this body was sent in by the Thakoor of Kungetee. His letter, addressed to me or to the Superintendent, Captain Lloyd, was opened by the latter. Before sending

it on to me, Captain Lloy endorsed the Thakoor's letter with the following remark under his own signature :

"It shows that the rebels have not as yet left Mundisore, nor do I believe that they have any intention of coming in this direction. (Forwarded for the information of the Political Agent, Meywar.)

"(Signed) B.P. Lloyd,[12]

"Superintendent."

The opinion here so confidently expressed of the improbability of any approach in the direction of Neemuch by the Mundisore rebels could only be referred, obviously, to the total cessation for some time previously of all rumours of coming attack. Such having been notoriously rife before the occupation of Neembahera, the endorsed remark in question may fairly be held to confirm my view of the sedative effect of that measure.

On authentic intelligence of the descent on Jeerun being received at Neemuch the Superintendent, without consulting me, though present in the station, took upon himself to call upon the Officer Commanding, Captain Simpson, who had but recently fallen into the command of the station, to march a force to drive the rebels out. They were known to be without guns and ill-provided with small arm ammunition, and the fort at Jeerun to be in a state of dilapidation without any gates. As the plan of attack was matured by the Officer Commanding without seeking any co-operation from me in my official capacity, I infrred that the arrangements made were considered ample for so inconsiderable an enterprise.

A force, as per margin, marched out of Neemuch on the morning of th 23rd October, accompanied in his official capacity by Captain Lloyd,

the Superintendent. It returned to cantonments the same night, dejected by failure in the object of the expedition, the rebels being left in possession of Jeerun, to complete the plunder of the place. The depressing effect of this retrograde movement was enhanced by the number of casualties sustained. Out of eleven officers present on the occasion,two were killed and five wounded. The heads of the two officers killed were cut off by the enemy, and Tucker's carried away and placed over the gates at Mundisore, attended by the gross and unmentionable outrage by which, among certain savages of India, scorn as well as hatred for their fallen enemies is expressed. This trophy, for as such it was looked upon by the enemy, to confirm the too true vaunt that a party of 400 undisciplined rabble, without a single trained soldier in their ranks, without a single trained soldier in their ranks, without guns and but indifferently armed, had repulsed in open fight an equal number of our British troops, with artillery, was eminently calculated to encourage hopes of success on the part of the rebel leaders at Mundisore in an attack on Neemuch while under such military command.

3.15 Mundisore at the time of Mutiny –

So strongly impressed was I with the serious character of the Jeerun reverse, as calculated to bring about an attack on Neemuch, that I sent intelligence of the event the morning after its occurrence to Colonel Durand, at Mhow, as well as reporting it to Brigadier-General Lawrence, communicating my view of the probable consequences. I ventured to urge upon General Lawrence the adoption of precautionary measures in view of the attack that might now be anticipated. But General Lawrence accepted my apprehension as without sufficient foundation. A supply of

ammunition even, which had been urged on his attention even, which had been urged on his attention by the officer late in command, Colonel Jackson, and my self, some months previously, was still delayed. The correspondence on this essential point has already been fully submitted to Government in my despatch No. 20 under date 22nd January, 1858. Colonel Durand, on the other hand, most fortunately for the safety of the post and the garrison, had a truer apprehension of the event reported, and of our changed position at Neemuch in consequence. His reply is appended in the margin. Concurring with me, it will be observed that the result of the Jeerun affair might induce an attack on Nemuch, he expressed his intention to march on Mundisore in progress as soon as the work cut out for the Mhow Column in his immediate vicinity was over.

Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent, who had called for and accompanied the expedition, reported the result of the Jeerun affair to Brigadier-General Lawrence as a “victory,” basing his representation upon the circumstance of the rebels having subsequently evacuated the place. The fact was that having been left in possession by the reverse and retreat of the British force from before the village to plunder it at leisure, they returned the following day to Mundisore to carry back their spoit and the trophies which the incident of the fight above noted had placed in their possession.

But for my rightly apprehending, and faithfully representing, the nature and probable consequences of the Jeerun reverse, Colonel Durand might have moved with the Mhow Column in another direction (and other calls, as will be seen by the appended extract from the same letter, were urgent), instead of marching towards Neemuch. How opportune, how vital, was his diversion, will appear in the sequel.

The effect produced by the Jeerun check changed the whole aspect of affairs at Neemuch. It was but two days afterwards that the Superintendent conveyed to me the rumour of a threatening inroad in force into the district (vide para. 2, my letter No. 255, of 29th October, to agent Governor-General), and similar rumours prevailed almost daily from that date in the station, causing the bazaar to be deserted in panic, till, culminating in an authentic report of the march of a body from Mundisore, they appeared before Neemuch on the 8th November, i.e. about a fortnight after the Jeerun affair.

On approach of the enemy, the regular Cavalry (about 250 sabres) was orderedout to meet him. The officer in executive command, as he designated himself (captain Bannister), called upon me before mounting, in company with the Superintendent (Captain Lloyd), to seek my co-operation with my body-guard of Meywar troops. I joined him with 300 Horse. We met the enemy advancing across the downs beyond the nullah forming the rear defence of Cantonments. On our approach he formed line in open single files so as to display as extended in front as possible, and showed many flaunting flags. His numbers appeared about 2,000 of which 100 were horse ; of the foot, between 500 and 600 were fighting men (vilayatees) but undisciplined, the remainder armed rabble who had come probably, in the hope of plunder. On forming up, the enemy opened fire from three guns. I proposed to Captain Bannister a combined charge on the enemy's position. This movement was strongly urged by Colonel Jackson, who was in the field without command, having retired. Captain Bannister declined on the ground of restrictive orders from the officer in command of the station, but who, being on the sick list, was unable to take the field. After observing the enemy for about an hour, he retired altogether from the field, retreating upon the fort. The rebels then

breaking again into column of route continued their march towards Neemuch. Observing this, I advanced the Meywar detachment in the direction of the bridge over the nullah so as to oppose a check to the enemy's entry. The movement had the desired effect. The enemy halted, brought his guns to the front, and opened fire again ; and thus he stood held in check till nightfall, when he bivouacked on the same spot. The Meywar detachment was then withdrawn from the field, a strong picket being left at the bridge. Among the officers the only casualty was Lieutenant Stapleton's horse shot under him. In my despatch of the day's operations, I commented on the mischievous anomaly of an officer in the field acting under general restrictive orders from a commandant not in the field.

On reconnoitring the enemy's position at midnight, and finding him still bivouacked on the ground where he had received the check, I proceeded to the fort and communicating the circumstance to the Officer Commanding, strongly urged his moving out the troops to attack the rebels at daybreak. I left him to confer on the plan, as he proposed doing, with the Artillery Officers. At daybreak he came to my house to say that it had been decided not to attack the rebels, but to occupy the fort with Infantry, - the Cavalry to keep the field.

It only remained for me then to keep the field also with the Meywar Horse, in order that, by joining forces, the combined Cavalry might be in a position to operate effectively against the rebels, and thus best aid the garrison which had taken to the fort and was prepared to be invested.

About an hour after sunrise, the rebels, finding no preparations made for attacking nor even to resist them, streamed unopposed and

unobstructed into the station, and with ringing yells of triumph fired every house that was left standing amidst the ruins of the former conflagration of June, when the Neemuch brigade rose in revolt.

The officer Commanding the regular cavalry in the field marched straight away from Neemuch, in disregard of my official remonstrance against his doing so, in quest, as alleged, of his baggage and spare horses, and never came again within sight of the fort till the siege was raised. I remained in observation with the Meywar Horse alone, preventing the enemy's horse from over-running the country, rescuing several parties that had fallen into their hands, and communicating daily with the garrison, as reported in my despatch to Brigadier-General Lawrence's address dated Neembahera, 11th November, and copy of which was forwarded direct to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone in my letter to his address of the same date. The practical advantage derived by the troops in the field from the possession of Neembahera in our hands at that critical juncture was adverted to in those despatches. See Appendix for extract copy of last para of my transmitting letter to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone.

The temporary success of the rebel force in having been suffered to march unopposed into Neemuch and sit down before the fort, was daily attracting supporters, both horse and foot, to the Shahzada's standard before the walls, and producing a disastrous effect throughout the surrounding district of the British superintendency. Several of the chief towns, on receiving the Shahzada's call to allegiance, ejected the British authorities and declared for thim. Jawud, Ruttengurh, Singolee, all rose in open rebellion. On the other hand, the disappearance of the regular Cavalry from the scene of operations was producing not unnaturally a dispiriting effect upon the Meywar Raj irregulars in the field with me. On the 3rd morning of the siege (the 11th). I was advancing with but a

handful towards the fort from Kasoonda, a village within sight of Neemuch where I had encamped during the night, when a single troop of the regular Cavalry (about 60 sabres) hove in sight. The officer in Command, Lieut. Farquharson, stated that he had been detached by the Officer Commanding the 2nd Cavalry to proceed and co-operate with me. My remonstrance had effected thus much at least.

Thus reinforced, I had no hesitation in turning my demonstration of the preceding day into a real attack on the rebels position before Fort Neemuch. Advancing from the south, we swept rapidly down upon the villages of Bugana and Nixongunge, their Head Qarters. Taken completely by surprise, our advance being concealed partially by high standing jowarree crops, the rebels fled in a panic. Many were cut up, - some burnt alive in huts that were fired. These villages and the nullah in rear of the fort being completely cleared, we were enabled to communicate personally with the garrison to arrange for a sortie in co-operation. The Cavalry mean while were to remain halted on the other side of the nullah till the sortie party should be ready. Then the Cavalry, making a demonstration on the enemy's rear to the south to draw their force off to that side, would have left the way open for the sortie party to dash out and spike the rebels only siege gun, which annoyed the garrison. This plan was unfortunately frustrated by some misconception on the part of the Officer commanding the troop of 2nd Cavalry, for it appeared in view to the north of the entrenchments, a movement calculated to draw the enemy in that direction instead of to the south as the proposed demonstration would have done. And so it happened : for on joining the troop we saw the enemy's horsemen, issuing at first stealthily by twos and threes – for they had not yet recovered the panic caused by our first dash upon their position – begin by degrees to stream out from the rear of

the Infantry Hospitals and to gather in a group on the easternmost side of the Brigade parade ground, on which the Cavalry troop was now formed up. When they had increased to about 50 in number, I urged the Lieutenant commanding the troop to charge them. But instead of doing so he went "three left" and inclined away, the men firing with their carbines. All this time the enemy were increasing rapidly till they amounted to about equal in strength with the troop, and, emboldened by our not charging them, they began to advance towards us. It was apparent then that a charge was the only thing that could avert a disaster. So, exercising my military rank, I gave the word "Halt, front. – Charge !" placing myself at their head, with Jackson, who was in the field as an amateur. Instinctively at the word they halted and formed line – probably the troop horses obeyed the accustomed word of command of their own accord – but instead of following in a charge the troop broke into column again. Thereupon Colonel Jackson, solicitous for the honour of his regiment, the 2nd Cavalry, as well as keenly alive to the critical condition of the moment, called out, "For God's sake, charge. Gentlemen, you will lose your names and disgrace the regiment." The troop continued moving to the flank, nevertheless, firing their carbines. The enemy, who had been advancing at a walk, emboldened by this hesitation, now broke into a gallop. Then, to use the words of Colonel Jackson in letters dated the 17th December, 1857, addressed to Colonel Green, the Adjutant General of the Bombay Army, and Captain Macgregor, of his own regiment, describing the scene then "the head of the column bolted away at speed, the centre followed, and the troop became totally disorganized in flight." The next moment the enemy was upon us. Jackson and myself, a Parsee clerk of my office, the brave young Anderjee, and a mounted chuprassie, Gopal Singh, were only saved by being splendidly mounted – the two latter on my own horses, as usual when attending me in the field. Cutting our way

through towards a wide nullah (ditch) formed by percolation through the embankment of the tank to the north of the parade ground, we pounded our pursuers by clearing it, and gaining the top of the embankment circled round it at speed. A shout of mingled rage and disappointment followed us, with a mingled rage and disappointment followed us, with a parting random volley. Jackson here well remarks, in his letter to Macgregor : "Had it not been for a stiff nullah, several of us would have bit the dust." My two mounted Meywaree orderlies were both killed. Gopal, my chuprassie, had his thumb cut off in defending a rifle which he was carrying in his hand. Retiring upon Neembahera, we encamped securely under its walls.

The affair of the morning having been witnessed from the walls of the Fort, an express from Lloyd, dated 5 p.m. of the same day (11th), writing in cipher that they were running short of ammunition for the guns and of sheep for the garrison, adds : "We are anxious to know how you and Colonel Jackson fared this morning."

Keeping up communications with the garrison was daily becoming more and more precarious. The last letter received was from the Officer Commanding, written in cipher and concealed in a quill, mentioning that they were running short of small arm ammunition. Having gathered from some of our men who had escaped from the rebel camp during the confusion and panic occasioned by our Cavalry operation, that the enemy were preparing ladders for escalading the Fort, I communicated this intelligence to the garrison, suggesting their not throwing away a shot, as reported in my despatch of the 11th November above referred to. An attempt at escalade was made a few days afterwards, and successfully repulsed by the fire of the garrison without any of the revels' ladder party getting within 50 yards of the walls, or any loss sustained by the garrison.

How far the intelligence I had communicated of the enemy's plans and the precautions I had suggested thereupon may have contributed to this result I am not aware. As the information itself was obtained as one of the fruits of our Cavalry attack on the 11th, the operation in question, equally in view of the important enterprise contemplated, and the early partial success of the attempt, may perhaps be held as not unworthy or recognition. The first partial success of that operation, though executed with but comparatively a handful of men (not above 80 sabres in all), may lead us to infer what conclusive results, in the contemplated raising of the siege, might have attended the attack if the whole of the Regular Cavalry had been co-operating at the time, especially as in such case the garrison might have been emboldened to make a sortie at the same time.

Fort Neemuch had now been besieged for two weeks, and was still closely invested by the rebels, whose numbers had greatly increased by the unexpected advantage they had obtained in getting possession of the Cantonment unopposed. The ammunition of the beleaguered force was running low, and there appeared no prospect of any supply being thrown in – a convoy, indeed was forwarded by General Lawrence from Nusseerabad, but too late, the Officer in charge, Captain Baumgartner, having been recalled while en route on receipt of intelligence of the close investment of the Fort by so large a body of the insurgents. On hearing of its despatch I wrote to Captain Baumartner mentioning the arrangements which I had made for strengthening his convoy on its approach to Neemuch, but he had already retired in obedience to his recal to Nusseerabad. The surrounding district under the British Superintendency, having almost wholly declared openly for the rebel Shahzada, no supplies of any kind could be thrown in. Internal tranquillity in Meywar

fortunately remained undisturbed. Still, since no effective relief of the garrison had become most critical.[13]

At this juncture, Colonel Durand appeared on the the scene. Acting on his expressed view, above given in concurrence with mine, which was conveyed to him immediately on the occurrence of the Jeerun affair, that it might bring on an attack on Neemuch, he had marched with the Mhow column in relief, and now threatened Mundisore. The siege of Neemuch was at once raised (on the 22nd November,) the investing rebels returning by order of the Shahzada to defend Mundisore. Neemuch and its little garrison were thus saved, but I think it may be fairly assumed that, but for my timely report to Colonel Durand and his right apprehension of the true state of the case, both might have been sacrificed by General Lawrence's withdrawal of all official confidence and support from me, at a moment when our interests in Meywar were in so critical a position, and by his accepting the version of the Jeerun affair as reported by Capt. Lloyd in preference to mine, where by Neemuch was left short of ammunition for a sustained defence. The entire destruction of the rebel force by the Mhow column on the 23rd, and flight of the Shahzada and other leaders of the movement, left Neemuch secure. The Kotah rebellion, it is true, was at its height, but I had long since had the ghat leading from Harowtee into Meywar broken up so as to impassable for Artillery at all events.

On the military question raised by the above stated contrary views of the two authorites cited, viz. : whether the rebels' attack on the station of Neemuch on the 8th November, 1857, should have been opposed by the garrison, or supinely submitted to, I would leave my military readers to form a judgement, and feel assured that it hardly needs to recur to the Napoelonic maxim in war to point the lesson taught by this incident of the hitherto unwritten history of the period.

3.16 Faithful servant in Mundisore –

Before closing this chapter relating to the irruption of the Mundisore, Shahzada's force into the Neemuch district, a passing tribute to the memory of faithful servant, Ooserie, who sealed his fidelity with his life. When patrolling daily with the Meywar Horse around the invested fort, he used, on leaving encampment in the morning, to send Ooserie on a riding camel with despatch-box and a change of clothes straight to whichever village he purposed encamping at night. One fatal day, in making his short cut, some of the rebel horsemen came upon him, unattended by any escort, captured and took him in to their leader who held his head quarters in the old Residency, built by Sir David Ochterlony. They charged him with remaining in the service of the Chief Civil Officer. They questioned him as to the contents of the Despatch box, supposing it to contain valuable jewels. He could only reply that it was his master's office box. Disbelieving him, they tried to wrench it open. Resisting their efforts, some one suggested that it might be an infernal machine to explode on being forced open, and purposely thrown in their way to destroy the Shahzada. The box was at once flung out of the open doorway, and the faithful and true Ooserie, innocent of all crime but fidelity to his master, was taken out and killed. There was a shocking story reported as to the manner of his death, but some refuse to believe it. The thought of a faithful servant losing his life for pure fidelity is distressing enough without being harrowed by the reflection that he was tortured. The despatch-box was found unopened in the Residency compound after the siege was raised. It bears the marks of the wrenching iron to this day.

Chapter IV

Role of Tantia Topee in Mewar State Agianst The British

Chapter IV - Role of Tantia Topee in Mewar State Agianst The British

4.0 Life Sketch of Tantia Topee

4.1 Tantia enters in Mewar

4.2 Role of Tantia Topee against British Force

4.3 Crusial Role of Tantia in Mewar and its Border Teritories

4.4 Execution of Tantia Topee

4.5 The Queen's Proclamation

4.6 Showers in Udaipur, Capital of Mewar

CHAPTER – IV

Role of Tantia Topee in Mewar State Agianst The British

Tantia Topee (1814 – 1859)

4.0 Life Sketch of Tantia Topee –

In mutiny of 1857 most of Indian Leaders who opposed of British Rule in India, were controlled by British Army. Tantia Topee was last freedom fighter who entered in Rajputana to take support of the Rulers of Rajputana, its Nobles & Local People. His life sketch is as mention below.

Tantia Topee alias Ramchandra Ganesh Panth Moropanth Pandurang Topee was born around 1813 in an orthodox Deshasth Brahmin family in Pune. His father, Pandurang Rao Topee, was an important noble at the court of the Peshwa Baji Rao II. He shifted his family with the ill-fated Peshwa to Bithur where his son became the most

intimate friend of the Peshwa's adopted son, Nana Dhondu Pant. The other associates of Tantia Topee were Rao Sahib and Rani Lakshmi Bai.

In 1851, when Lord Dalhousie deprived Nana Sahib of his father's pension, Tantia Topee also became a sworn enemy of the British. He co-operated with Nana Sahib in organising an anti-British upsurge secretly in collaboration with other aggrieved persons. In May 1857, when the political storm was gaining momentum, Tantia Topee won over the Bharatiya troops of the East India company, stationed at Kanpur, established Nana Sahib's authority and became the Commander-in-Chief of his revolutionary forces. In the military encounters that followed he emerged as a gifted tactician with a marvellous organising skill and as an unsurpassed guerrilla warrior with lightning speed.

Tantia Topee joined hands with Rani Lakshmi Bai After the reoccupation of Kanpur by the British and kindled a revolt in Bundelkhand.

Then he reached Gwalior where he declared Nana Sahib as Peshwa with the support of the Gwalior contingent. But before he could consolidate his position he was defeated by General Rose in a memorable battle in which Rani Lakshmi Bai suffered martyrdom. The fall of Gwalior was a turning point in the career of Tantia Topee. Thereafter commenced his remarkable feats of guerrilla warfare over very vast regions of Central India, Malwa, Bundel-khand, Rajputana and Khandesh, from the recesses of the Vindhyas to the gorges of the Aravali, harassing and perplexing the British and their allies. Pursued from June 1858 to April 1859 by nearly half of the British forces in India under their ablest generals enjoying the fullest support of their military intelligence, he outmaneuvred them several times.

The dispersion of the Mumdisore movement and consequent return of security at Neemuch seeming to render the continued presence there no longer necessary, hence they proceeded to Udaipur, and remained at the capital till July of the following year (1858), when the incursion of another rebel force, under Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib, into Mewar, after Sir Hugh Rose (the late Lord Strathnairn) had driven them out of Gwalior, necessitated the return to Neemuch to confer with the Officer Commanding on measures for attacking them.

In the interval the first detachment of the reinforcements from England detailed for Rajputana had arrived on the 12th April, when a wing of the 72nd (seaforth) Highlanders marched into Udaipur in progress to Neemuch, under Captain Crombie. This was the first Highland regiment that had ever come to India – the first of "the Blue Bonnets come over the Border." The natives were equally astonished as delighted at the splendid physique of the men and the striking and picturesque plumed bnnets and tartan plaids of their uniform ; but above all were their hearts stirred in symphony with the martial bag – pipes so near in unison with their own wild war skirts. "It is the most exquisite music," the Minister commended as the piper was playing in ascending the winding stairs of the palaceat a fete given to the regiment by the Maharana; "it is the most exquisite music we ever heard – it is enough to charm a snake out of its hole." And the piper played before the King, who presented him with a handsome honorarium. The three days the Highlanders halted at the capital were developed to sport and festivities. There was shooting in the surrounding hills for the sportsmen ; the lake was alive with pleasure boats and state barges, on which the other officers and men embarked to visit the lake islands with their water palaces, now become historic as the place of refuge of the Neemuch refugees. In the evening the officers

honoured me with their company at dinner at the Residency, wound up by a Natch held under a Shamiana or curtained canopy spread over the terrace. The scene had at least the charm of novelty to my friends, as the first of the Arabian Nights entertainments that awaited them in the glowing East.

4.1 Tantia enters in Mewar –

Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib, entered Mewar at the head of a force of about 5,000 men, composed partly of the British revolted native soldiery. On intelligence being received that they had passed Mundelgurh, and were approaching the Ruttun-gurh-Singolee passes, through which a passage would have been opened to the Chumbul, at Rampoora, and thus a retreat out of Mewar, Brigadier Parke, who was in Command at the time, moved out a field detachment at the suggestion to take up a position above the Jawud Steppe, so as to command the south exit of the passes in question. The required position was attained by a creditable military operation, under the immediate command of Major Taylor, 2nd Bombay Cavalry, the detachment, with its artillery, being taken up the Sookdeo ghat – never before crossed by an organized force. The object of this move was completely attained. The rebel army was held in check. The tract of country lying between the Chumbul and Bunas rivers, comprising some of the most fertile districts of the British Superintendency, as well as the territories of our ally, the Maharana of Udaipur, was for the greater part saved, and the inhabitants, who had fled to the jungles in dread of the impending irruption, were enabled to return to their homes.[1]

The rebel force, headed back by the advance of the Neemuch Detachment, crossed the Bunas river, and was thus thrown upon General

Roberts force then advancing into Mewar, and which met and defeated Tantia at Sanganeer on the 9th August.

The object of the move of the Neemuch Field Detachment above the steppe having been thus accomplished, it was withdrawn, and Tantia having retreated westward after his defeat at Sanganeer, Brigadier Parke moved a force under his personal command westward at once to cover Udaipur and command the passes leading south into the Banswara jungles. This move also had the desired effect. Supporting the advance to the Capital of a detachment of Native Troops which had been moved up on the requisition of my Assistant at Kherwarra, Captain Annesley, the move of the rebels on Udaipur was checked, and the passes into the Banswarra jungles being occupied, and the passes westward into Marwar closed by my direction, Tantia was again thrown upon General Roberts force which had followed upon the tracks of the retreating rebel force after the affair at Sanganeer. The action of Kotaria ensued on the 14th August, where Tantia lost four guns and retreated eastward again, re-crossing the plains of Mewar.

Brigadier Parke then took up the Pursuit, and accomplished the first of that brilliant series of operations by flying columns, which has marked the campaigning of the second year of the rebellion in India with its distinctive character, operations which for celerity of movement, endurance of extraordinary privations and fatigue, and practical tranquilising results, stand unsurpassed in the annals of warfare, and in the conduct of which Brigadier Parke's name as a Commander stands prominent. On the occasion in question, after following awhile in hot pursuit on the track of the rebels, it soon became evident that they were making for the fords of the Chumbul, at Rampoora, by a hill ruoute that our guns could not traverse. Sweeping along the base of the Jawud

Steppe, then, the force arrived on the 20th at Neemuch, within thirty miles of the Chumbul, having attained this advanced position to cut off the rebel's retreat, by a succession of forced marches over a country deep with the saturated soil of the monsoon, and through an August sun. A fresh detachment was at once pushed on half – way to the river as an advanced guard, and thus matters stood on the 20th. The intelligence received from Holkar's authorities at Rampoora of rebels' movements was submitted to the Officer Commanding, and the fate of Tantia and his force seemed decided. The contretemps by which the rebels nevertheless escaped across the Chumbul, passing the ford but six hours before the arrival there of the Neemuch force, on account of the delay occasioned by the conflicting intelligence of Tantia's , movements communicated to Brigadier Parke was reported in my letter No. 234, under date 24th August.

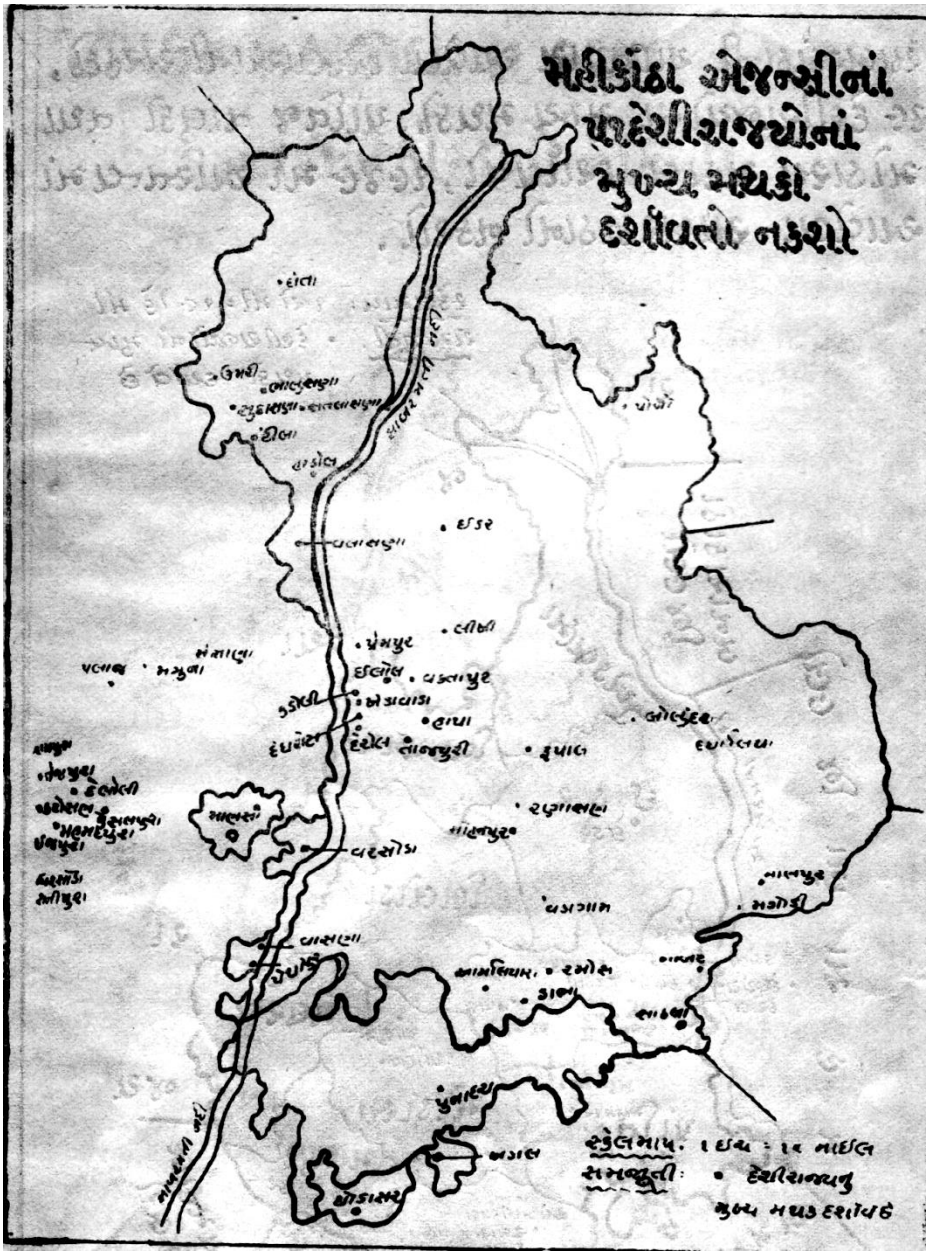
About four months afterwards, that is, in December, Tantia Topee and his rebel force made a second irruption into Mewar, the events connected with which were fully detailed in my report No. 369, under date the 26th December, 1858, and may be here briefly sketched.

4.2 Role of Tantia Topee against British Force –

After his defeat at Chota Udaipur, on the Nurbudda, on 3rd December, by Brigadier Parke, who had been in hot pursuit of the rebel force ever since the last irruption, but partly beyond the limits of my jurisdiction, Tantia Topee re-entered the Mewar territory from the south, near Koosulgurh, of Banswarra. A gallant attempt was made by the Rao of that place, one of the Frontier Chiefs, to oppose his entry, for which he received an honorary reward from Government ; but the rebel force was too strong to be successfully resisted by the Banswarra Native Levies.

Carrying all before him, then. Tantia occupied the Capital of Banswarra on the 11th. The Maha Rawul's palace, however, had not been carried when the opportune arrival of a British detachment under Major Learmouth, 17th Lancers, saved the town from being sacked, Tantia proceeding northward on its approach towards Saloombra.

The threatening attitude assumed by the Chief of Saloombra, in concert with Bheendur, on the strength of the rebel force being encamped at his capital, was duly reported in my despatch above referred to. The demand which was received at that juncture, when alone and unsupported at Udaipur, for the immediate redress of their alleged grievances, conveyed in letters to the address from the Saloombra and Bheendur Chiefs and received together by the hand of one and the same messenger, came invested with a peculiarly sinister significance in view of the presence of the rebels at Saloombra, and of certain information that an advance on the Capital was contemplated. My summary dismissal of the messenger with a verbal admonition and pregnant warning, as further reported in the same despatch, at once foiled their attempt at intimidation, and had the effect of restraining these contumancious Chiefs from irretrievably committing themselves to the cause of rebellion.



Tantia Topee's Action in Mahikantha & Banaskantha (Gujarat)

Tantia, with his whole force, marched from Saloombra on Udaipur, but unaccompanied and unsupported, openly at all events, by the Chief, Rawut Kesree Singh or by members or retainers of his faction. All practicable preparation for the defence of the capital was made. Still, in view of the threatening attitude of the banded recusant Chiefs and the uncertainty how far their intrigues might have been at work among his own foreign troops within the walls, the Maharana was anxious. At his

highness' request, then, the Neemuch Field force was summoned by express to cover the Capital.

The demonstration was sufficient to divert Tantia's march on Udaipur. Turning off at Geengla, he moved north-east on Bheendur.

The capital being thus secured, I moved out and joined the advancing Field Detachment under Major Rocke, and directed its efforts exclusively to holding the rebel force in check from breaking northward out of the Jungle Tract, in order that Brigadier Parke, who was advancing from the south, might come up with it again. To that end, successive positions were taken up which served, as reported at the time, to head rebels back at two points where they attempted to break (there by saving incidentally the Cheifship capitals of Konoer and Bara Sadree), and finally to drive them back south.

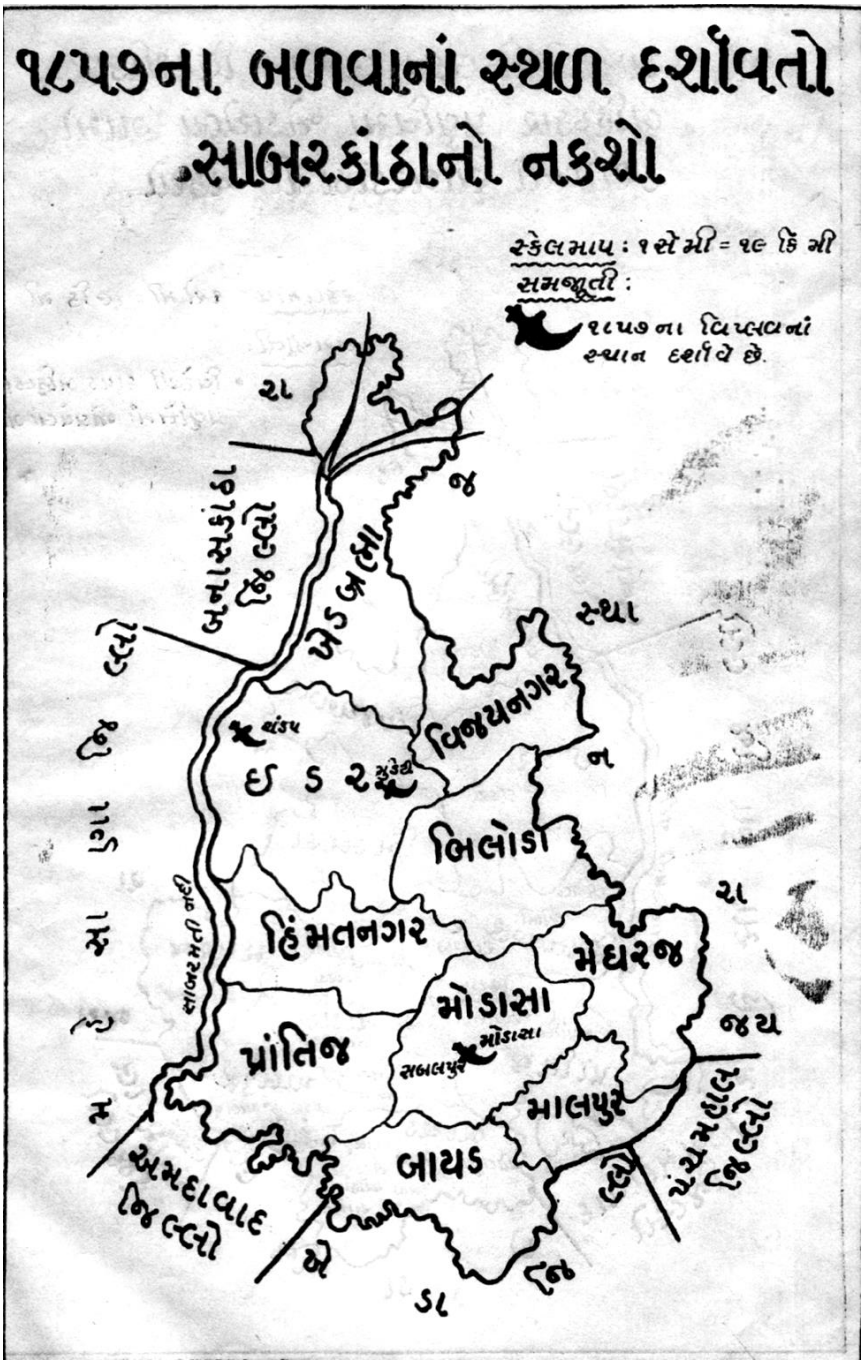
4.3 Crusial Role of Tantia in Mewar and its Border Teritories –

The detachment which had been posted in observation of the Pratapgarh passes on east of the "Jungle Tract" (the literal meaning of Banswarra), having been withdrawn at that juncture to form part of a force required to watch the fresh irruption of rebels under Feroz Shah into Central India, Pratapgarh was left uncovered. As this capital lay in the direction in which Tantia had retreated and was especially obnoxious to attack equally a a rich city for plunder, and in reprisal for the life of a former leader of the rebels, Kasim Khan Vilayutee, whom the Rajah attacked and killed on his entering the Pratapgarh territory with his followers, after the defeat of the Mundisore rebel force in November, 1857, Major Rocke's detachment was moved by a forced flank march to cover Pratapgarh. It arrived there on the 23rd December. A glance at the map showing the low jungle tract surrounded by the elevated plateau

upon which Major Rocke's column was operating, as exhibiting the extent of the outer circle, give an idea of the rapidity of the movements demanded to hold Tantia from breaking cover from his vantage point at the centre of the circle, and to attain the required position in question on the date named, the 23rd. And, as it prived, none too soon – for on the following morning received intelligence that Tantia, with his whole force, then about 5000 strong, and accompanied by some 4000 Bhils under the Bhil Chiefs, who had given him refuge in their jungles, and had shown him the Pratapgarh Pass on a promise of sharing the plunder of that rich State Capital, was in full march upon it. Major Rocke's column, of the force noted in margin, being too weak to detach guards for the protection of the camp while marching out to meet the approaching rebel force and to cover the city, the camp was struck and sent into the city with all camp equipage – baggage, cattle, & c. – for security within its walls. The column then marched westward towards the Banswara Ghat to cover the city. Intelligence arriving that the head of the rebel column had already debouched on the Pratapgarh plateau, the column took up a defensive position on a rising knoll on the westernmost extremity of the city wall. The distance from the Ghat being but about three miles, the enemy soon loomed into view in dense masses, and taking up a position surrounding us on three sides at a distance of about two or three hundred yeard, opened a musketry fire. Our infantry replied, and our guns fired shrapnel and grape. While this fusillade action was in progress, the rebel cavalry formed up on our left flank with apparent intention of charging. The mutinied 5th Bengal Irregualr Cavalry being conspicuous in this movement, and keeping its formation as if on parade, looked on with mingled pride and regret. Having formerly been adjutant of the regiment, could hardly suppress a secret feeling of gratification at observing the good drill they exhibited, while to see a once faithful corps of gallant

soldiers led away by the designing to believe the artfully concocted stories of our designs on their religion, was indeed lamentable. But this was not the time in the midst of a sharp conflict against great odds to indulge in moralising – so, trailing our two guns "action left," a few rounds of grape served to repel the intended charge. No further attempt to assault our position was made. At night-fall the enemy's fire slackened, then ceased ; and it soon became apparent that favoured by the darkness they had retreated round both sides of the city to the eastward in the direction of Mundisore. Pratapgarh was thus saved. Showers immediately sent information of Tantia's replulse and retreat to Catain Hutchinson, who, with the 17th Lancers, was watching another pass out of the jungle tract about 12 miles further to the south. Colinel Benson then took up the pursuit, thus saving Mundisore ; and subsequently he overtook Tantia at Zirapoor and routed him with slaughter.

In our action at Pratapgarh considerable loss was inflicted on the enemy, including a leader of note, as indicated by the appointments of the corpse and the circumstance of the usual device in such cases having been adopted by cutting off the head and carrying it away to preclude identification. There was nothing on the appointments of the richly accoutred body to afford a clue. Many prisoners, elephants, &c., fell into our hands. The troops, on that cold Christmas Eve, camped on the field.



Places of Indian Mutiny in Present Sabarkantha District in Gujarat

The defeated remnants of the rebel force, reinforced after their second expulsion from Mewar by Feroze Shah and his followers some 2000 (two thousand), swept round through Upper and Western Rajputana, pursued and attacked by several columns in succession at different places, and entered Mewar for the thifd time from Marwar on the west in February, 1859, or about two months after their previous irruption.

Brigadier Somerset's Column being at the time in the field in Mewar in observation of the Ghat, proceeded at once to join him. Missing the rebel force by a few hours at Lake Kankrolie on the 17th, the efficiency of this admirably equipped brigade, the most powerful and complete in its appointments of all the flying columns organized by General Michel, was fully tested in the following pursuit, and in the successful result of the operation rewarded at once the care that had been bestowed in its equipment and the energy of the commander. Though the rebel force had nearly a day's start, and had fled south-east, its retreat to the Banswarra jungles was cut off. Forced then to keep the open, it soon became disorgainzed by the unflagging, unrelenting pursuit. After the second day stragglers began to fall into hands at every mile. One leader, Nawab Abdool Suttar Khan, broke off with his followers from the main body while in mid-flight, and soon afterwards surrendered. Another leader, Feroze Shah, sent in a deputation to me with overtures for terms, and which resulted in the immediate surrender of his principal officer, Peer Zuhoor Alli, with 300 (three hundred) followers, as reported in despatch No. 48, dated 1st March, 1859, General Muchel joining Briagadier Somerset's camp to receive the surrender in due form.

4.4 Execution of Tantia Topee –

The last sparks of the rebellion were stamped out. Tantia Topee saw that the game was up. Indeed, he had long seen it, and had wished to retire from the field. Of this fact the testimony of his formal deposition taken on the 10th April, 1859, and authenticated by the Commander of the Field Force, by a detachment of which Tantia's seizure had been effected on the 7th idem, while a solitary fugitive in the Parone jungles, to which he had retired after carrying out his purpose of quitting the field. The words of the deposition must be here quoted to form a judgment

regarding his claim to mercy, in withdrawing from the war while his master, the Rao Sahib, was still, at the head of six thousand men, prepared to continue it. "I had been quarrelling with the Rao Sahib all the way from Deogurh Bari, and told him I could flee no longer, and that whenever I saw an opportunity of doing so, I should leave him. The opportunity of doing so, I should leave him. The opportunity for doing so here offered, and I left him, and accompanied the three above-named parites in this (Parone) direction. When I left the Rao Sahib, he had about six thousand men with him. But three men, two pundits to cook my food, and one saes (groom) and three horses and one tattoo accompanied me…. We reached the Parone jungle and met Rajah Man Singh." [1]

The story of the way in which Man Singh was worked upon by his natural desire to recover his lost patrimony to betray his trusting friend into British hands, is not pleasant reading for an Englishman. Though aware that he had surrendered to the British, Tantia did not distrust his old comrade for a moment, but sent for him to consult him ; the presumption hence being that in pursuance of his virtual surrender in quitting the field, he contemplated the formal act, following the example of his friend, Man Singh went, but accompanied by a party of Sepoys held in ambush. Finding Tantia asleep, they seized and carried him into the British camp. He was then marched to an obscure outstation, Sipree, and tried before a court material on the charge of having been in rebellion, and having waged war against the British Government between June, 1857, and December, 1858, in certain specified instances. No charge of having murdered, or having been privy to the murder of any British subject was alleged against him ; and he emphatically denied having been guilty of any such act.[2]

Had he been allowed counsel to defend him, it might have been urged on his behalf : 1. That he was no subject of the British government, his opposition to which could be rightly constructed into criminal rebellion against his sworn agglegiance ; on the contrary, that he was the servant of a foreign master, the Nana Sahib, the son of the Peshwa Bajee Rao, the liege lord of all the Maharattas, whose orders he was bound to obey. 2. That his master's political wrongs in being disinherited from the provision solemnly guaranteed by the Company's Government to his father had enlisted such sympathy, not withstanding the revulsion which all must have felt at his personal crimes, as had served to shield him against the bribe of a lack of rupees, (10000) offered by the Government for his person, alive or dead. To this day the Nana's fate remains absolutely unknown. Equally so that of his successor, and Tantia's second master, the Rao Sahib. 3. That such breach of faith, as they regarded it, had forced his master to be a conspirator, and that he himself, and his compeers, had only done their duty in taking up arms at his bidding. Again it might have been urged on his behalf that the spirit of the Royal Amnesty protected his life : "Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects." No such charge was ever alleged against Tantia. Nevertheless he was sentenced to be hanged – and was hanged. History will ask, who approved and confirmed that sentence ?

Contrast Tantia's case with that of Dewan Mool Raj of Mooltan, charged with the murder of Agnew and Anderson. He was allowed a fair trial at Lahore, the capital of the province in which his alleged crime was committed. And an experienced British officer was appointed to aid him in his defence. Strong were the presumptions against the Dewan. He had

been superseded in the governorship of Mooltan by an order of the Lahore Durbar, the Punjab being then – the year 1848 – under the Protectorate of the British during the minority of Maharajah Duleep Singh. Agnew and Anderson, both Assistants to the Resident, were sent down to relieve Moolraj and take charge of the district. They were well received by the Dewan, who bowed in well feigned submission to the order of the Durbar, virtually that of the British Resident, Sir H. Lawrence. Agnew, it appears called for a formal statement of account, which, with equal apparent submission, was professed should be duly rendered. The two officers then left the fort where the interview had taken place, and, mounting their horses, rode homewards towards the house in the suburbs appointed for their residence. On the way an angry crowd gathered around them, and being unattended by any British escort, they were attacked, and one of them wounded. Setting spurs to their horses they distance dthe mob, and reached their residence. But the mob followed them. Streaming through the undefended gateway it filled the compound, and with angry shouts called for the “Firangees.” The last scene was described by one of our officer’s servants on his return to Lahore. The two Sahibs were in an upper room of the house, one tending his wounded comrade, when multitudinous steps were heard on the staircase. Feeling, from the determinedly hostile attitude of their assailants, that in their utterly helpless condition their last hour was come, they shook hands, bidding each other an eternal farewell. The pattering footfalls have gained the landing : the next instant the armed throng crushes in through the narrow doorway into the room, and the two Englishmen confronted by overwhelming numbers, calmly await death with the hereditary courage of their race. Their heads were cut off and carried away, whether as voucher for the deed done, or to set up, as is too often done, in derision, did not come out on the trial. The presumption of

instigating to the deed was strong against the Dewan, but positive proof was wanting, and being, as above observed, ably defended by a skilful advocate, Colonel Hamilton, Commissioner in the Punjab, his life was saved.

Contrast his case again with that of Tantia. Consider that the last sparks of the rebellion had been completely stamped out, that no emergency existed for an example to strike terror, and reviewing the circumstances of his execution at the period in question by the light of the contrast afforded by the action of the Government on previous similar occasions, history will, I fear, only too justly pronounce, that it was a pitiful proceeding, quite unworthy of British precedents. Regarded, again, by the light of the Royal Proclamation, seeing that no charge of the murder of any British subject was ever made against Tantia, and that in his defence he voluntarily declared his innocence of any such act, the future verdict, it is to be apprehended, will be that it would have been more generous, more just, more in accordance with the spirit of the Queen's gracious Amnesty and Act of Oblivion, to have commissioned Man Singh to arrange the formal surrender of the broken – spirited and virtually surrendered refugee, than to betray his trusting friend, doomed by a foregone conclusion, to an ignominious death.

4.5 The Queen's Proclamation –

On the assumption by the Queen-Empress of direct rule over India at the latter end of the year 1858, it fell to my duty, as Resident in the Mewar States, to promulgate the Royal Proclamation at the Military and Civil Head Quarters of my circle – Neemuch and Udaipur respectively. Before describing the ceremonial observed on each august occasion, it may be advisable to refer to the events which created the necessity for the

measure – and this the more particularly because the latest writer on the subject, Colonel Malleson, evinces in the opinion has has pronounced on the point, – that the change arose from the necessity of finding a scape goat for all the blood which had been shed – a total misapprehension in regard to the responsibility for the policy which brought about the Munity. He has rightly followed Kaye – without acknowledgement however – in ascribing that event to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie ; but, in endeavouring to absolve the East India Company from all part and participation in that policy, he shows that he has not studied the history of the first measure of the series, the annexation of Satara, upon which the battle of the policies was fought. The question was raised by Lord Dalhousie, on the death of the late Rajah in 1848 without not, conduce to the consolidation of the Indian Empire to absorb the Native States upon every "legitimate" opportunity to get all India within a "ring – fence," according to the cant phrase of the annexation school. To facilitate an answer in the affirmative of the proposition, it was suggested that a denial of the right to adopt heirs, on failure of lineal descendants, would sooner or later proe an effective axe to lay at the root of each dynastic tree. That the original conception of the policy was Lord Dalhousie's, we have the testimony of his Minute of 30th August, 1848. Since a redy reference to this Minute may be convenient to collate with the late Governor – General's other papers, which, by the directions of his will, are to be published fifty years after his death, I think it as well to attach a copy of the Minute in question in the Appendix, to be referred to at that juncture.[3]

In thus plausibly applying the rules of succession obtaining in European States to the feudal principalities of India, the rational origin of the pactice of succession by adoption, obtaining among the Native States,

was overlooked – to guard, viz : against anarchy through the possible extinction of a dynasty in a single battle – field, by the death of the reigning prince, with all his sons fighting and falling around him. Again, the necessity of a successor to perform the funeral obsequies of the departed is essential to hindoo salvation, not to speak of the rights and interests of the subordinate Chiefs and people, preferring their own native rule to the British. Now in regard to the responsibility for the decision arrived at on the issue in question-re Satara, the Court of Directors approved of and upheld Lord Dalhousie's views by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Ross D. Mangles wrote a minute of approval, which was subscribed to by nine of the members of the Court. There were four able dissentients who recorded their minutes of dissent – Colonel Oliphant, Hon. Leslie Melville, H.St. George Tucker – the fourth, I am ashamed to say, I forget at the moment, and have not the means of reference in the country where I write. Without the powerful and overwhelming support of the Court of Directors Lord Dalahousie would have been utterly powerless to carry such a momentous innovation in principle of Indian policy, the more especially since the highest local authority, Sir Geroge Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, within whose jurisdiction Satara lay, was wholly opposed to it, as was also the lamented Bartle Frere, Resident of Satara, acting under him. The public now may judge with what justice, knowledge, or appreciation of the dignity of history, Colonel Malleson describes the solemn national act by which the Queen and Parliamnet of this great Kingdom accepted the high responsibility of the rule of two hundred millions of subjects as a mere shuffle of the cards called for by necessity of finding a scapegoat in the innocent Court of Directors, similarly as "if India had been at that time under the rule of the Crown, the natural scapegoat would have been the Ministry of the day?" No : the change of rule after the Mutiny was absolutely imperative. Directly

responsible as the Court of Directors were for the Annexation Policy, recording their approval of the original conception on principle, and officially approving and confirming each successive act of annexation, the nobel words of the queen's Proclamation : "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own," would, in the mouth of the Court of Directors, have been a barefaced mockery. Uttered by the Queen on reversing the policy in question, the words were a message of reassurance and of peace which, together with the Royal Amnesty, literally, to use the trite metaphor, were as "oil upon the troubled waters." [4]

The further government of India by the East India Company had become impossible. The hour and the man had come ! The "India of the Queen" was henceforth the only possible Government!

In raising my voice against the Court of Directors of the East India Company in respect of the point here at issue, I would not be misunderstood. My loyal devotion to my grand old Masters was inherited from my ancestors of three generations – their military servants, whose services date back to the early foundations of the Indian Empire. It was confirmed by my own experience of their generous protection, from the first gift of my appointment by the lamented Mr. Neil Benjamin Edmonstone down throughout the long series of favourable recognition of my humber efforts by my departmental chief and honoured friend, the late lamented John Stuart Mill, and others. It is not without a searching of heart then that I have steeled myself to pen a word to their apparent disparagement. But Historic Truth is sacred. "If it be not Truth," as Kaye well observes in the preface to his "History of the Sepoy War," – "if it be not truth, it is not History."

4.6 Showers in Udaipur, Capital of Mewar –

On the 11th November, 1858, the troops at Neemuch were drawn up on the grand parade for the celebration of the inauguration of the Queen – Empress' assumption of direct rule in and over India. The troops being formed in hollow square, Showers rode on the ground accompanied by the Rao of Bedla and the Udaipur Minister, with their brilliant corteges. These, the highest noble of his State, and his Prime Minister, the Maharana had deputed to assist at the ceremony in token of his satisfaction at the auspicious change of rule, then inaugurated. The pregnant significance of such a public act on such an occasion on the part of the highest Hindu Prince in India, and the recognised head of the great Hindu Confederacy, under the ancient title of "Hindu-Put," can hardly be over-estimated. The Royal salute by the guns on parade which succeeded my reading of the Proclamation was re-echoed by the distant booming of the guns of Fort Neembahera. A feu de joie followed. And as the band was pealing forth National Anthem, the assembled troops broke forth into an involuntary "Three cheers for the Queen!" in which the gallant 72nd , Seaforth Highlanders, were conspicuous by waving their bonnets high aloft on the points of their bayonets.

In the evening a public dinner was given by the Highlanders, followed by one to the European troops. Joining them after mess, accompanied by the officers, Showers had the honour of addressing the men and proposing the Queen's health, which was drunk with renewed cheers. Illuminations and fireworks closed the first day's rejoicings.

On the second day (the 12th) there was a public banquet given by the Maharana at the Udaipur Minister's residence, to which, by His Highness's desire, Showers had invited all the garrison. The Rao of

Bedla, on behalf of the Maharana, proposed the Queen's health ; the Commandant, Major Rocke, responding, proposed the Maharana's. In returning thanks for His Highness, Showers expressed conviction that the assurance conveyed in the Queen's Proclamation would enhance the gratification which the Maharana and all the Princes of India would feel in being brought into nearer relation with her Majesty.

The following day (14th) illuminations in the town of Neemuch, promoted by the able Superintendent of Jawud-Neemuch, Capt. Dennys.

The following day (15th) a public dinner by the Parsee community in honour of the occasion, accompanied by a brilliant illumination. After the Queen's health, Showers proposed that of the Parsee Community of India, coupling the name of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy with the toast – improving the occasion to pay a well merited tribute to the distinguished personal qualities of the race, and to that loyal recognition of the protection they had enjoyed under British rule, which, in the recent period of danger, had led them to share that danger as if of one and the same nation.

20th November. To Jawad, by Dennys invitation, to assist at the fetes proposed to be held at the district Capital, in honour of the occasion. Although the inhabitants had shewn disaffection when the Shahzada attacked Neemuch, he conceived that in assisting, nevertheless, at this demonstration of loyalty, he should but be moving in the spirit of the Act of Oblivion promulgated by the Queen's proclamation – letting by – gones. Illuminations general.

Proceeding, then, to the Capital, Showers had again the honour of reading the Proclamtaion at a Grand Durbar, to which all the feudal chiefs, high and low, had been specially summoned by the Maharana. A

royal salute was fired ; the streets and palaces, and lake islands, were lit up at night with illuminations of a brilliancy and character which, viewed afloat, owed its striking effects to the city approach to the lake lying through a Venetian Canal, spanned by its own picturesque bridge, with its own old-world legends clustering about its arches. The steps of the temples, and palaces, and bathing ghats on either side were thronged with a sea of heads of holiday makers in gay attire, cheering with loyal acclamations as, seated in a state barge with his Highness and his brilliant suite, we were rowed slowly down towards the lake. The temples clanged forth their "harmony of discords" from pealing bells and brazen horns. The several nobut-khanas, or native bands, rang forth their shrill clarion notes in succession as we passed, but above all thundred the din of the sham-fight fireworks, representing in the crossfire maintained over our heads between the buildings on either side, with the flashing of coloured lights an deafening reports, a battle of the Titans –

" Warring in Heaven, 'gainst Heaven's matchless king."

Disembrking at the palace stairs, all proceeded, mounted on elephants, through the illuminated streets of the city before returning to the palace to dinner.

As a fitting sequel to these public manifestations of satisfaction at the Queen's assumpation of the direct Government of India, Maharana Soroop Singh addressed a letter of congratulation to Her Majesty. Translated, in the following words : -

"The announcement made in the Royal Word, that the Queen of England is coming to rule over us, has shed light and joy over this darkened land like the moon rising upon the night. Impelled by the emotions which fill my breat, I hasten to offer my humble tribute of

loyalty to your Majesty, and with the involuntary outpouring of my joy, I desire to mingle the expression of my greatful sense of the solicitude for your Indian subjects, evinced by the act by which your Majesty has taken us all under your immediate protection, and thus removing the late intermediate link, has riveted the chain of affection by which my humble throne is brought nearer, and bound inseparably to your high throne.

"The gratification at this proof of your regard for our welfare, which all the princes of India will, I belive, share equally with myself, is enhanced by the assurance so graciously given by your Royal word that your Majesty will respect the rights, dignity, honour, and religion of Indian Princes as your own. Not that this assurance was needed for my own satisfaction, for I had ever confidence in the magnanimity of England's Queen, who, as the Ruler of so mighty a nation, could afford to indulge the promptings of her generous heart towards her protected princes.

"I desire to offer my congratulations on the crushing of the head of the great rebellion, which has swept like a vengeful Avatar over this land. I had no doubt myself of the end that has been accomplished so entirely in accordance with my hopes and prayers. It was equally a gratification to me, as it seemed a duty, to reassure in that dark hour of danger, many of my brother sovereigns who, when cut off from the accustomed support of British troops, applied to me for counsel, and reminding them of the benefits was had all experienced under British protection, to advise all to stand firm with me in our loyalty to your Majesty's throne and Royal person. All of these have shown their fidelity accordingly by standing steadfast through all difficulties. But to few was it given what fell to my good fortune, to be enabled to show my unalterable attachment to the British Rule, by extending my humble aid and protection to the British

refugees, when betrayed by the revolted soldiery cantoned within my territories.[5]

"That the auspicious change in the Government now inaugurated may prove to India, still somouldering from the recent conflagration, like rain from Heaven, at once quenching the fire and enovation the soil; that the consciousness of the benefits your Majesty will have extended to millions by that act may increase the happiness of your own heart, and, reflected, create an additional source of gladness and guardian interest throughout your Royal Family – is the earnest hope and prayer of your Majesty's faithful and most devoted servant." (The Udaipur Royal Seal affixed.)

This letter, in Khareeta, or royal form, enclosed in the usual cloth-of-gold and cambric envelopes, was forwarded in a golden casket, lined sandal wood, representing in its elevation and paln, a model of the water palace, Jug Mundir. This had designed at the Maharana's instance, as the most appropriate token to commemorate the incident referred to in his letter, in regard to the repose and protection found by the British refugees within its island home. The elephants heads, on which the casket rests, rise in the original structure out of the water, conveying the idea of the palace floating on the surface of the lake, supported by swimming elephants.

Admist the thunder of cannon and tumultuous rejoicings incident to this august occasion, the faint tremulous throbbing of an individual pulse may without intrusion find audible expression, might perhaps be pardoned in adverting to the personal gratification which could not but feel, and pointing to the poetic justice, at being made the official mouth piece of proclaiming so prominently the reversal of the policy against

which humble voice had been consistently raised from the earliest day of its sinister inauguration ; but the fallacy of which had only been demonstrated by the logic of Mutiny demanding the shedding of oceans of blood for its suppression.

Chapter V

Conculsion, Summry and Suggestions for Futher Research

Chapter V - Conculsion, Summry and Suggestions for Futher Research

5.0 Loyalty to the Crown

5.1 Modernisation of Mewar State

5.2 The Development of Modern Education In Mewar

5.3 Educational Work of the United Presbyterian Mission

5.4 Educational Work of the Chruch Mission Society

5.5 Suggestion for further research study

CHAPTER – V

Conculsion, Summry and Suggestions for Futher Research

5.0 Loyalty to the Crown –

Since the Treaty was concluded between the British Government and the State of Mewar all the Maharanas, as is well known, have been most loyal not in words but deeds to the British Government, and His Highness has followed the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors. The loyalty expressed and the help rendered in the Mutiny of 1857 have been well described by General Showers in his book "The Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny." The coinage of the State bears the words "Dosti London" (friendship with London) inscribed some 70 years ago. When sedition and anarchist propaganda were gaining ground in India. Lord Minto addressed the Durbars of Native States on the subject. His Highness extended his sympathy and support to the Government on that occasion. His Highness has raised an Imperial Service squadron of cavalry and his built commodious barracks for it. In the great world war His Highness also showed his loyalty in many ways. Mewar contributed nearly 13 Lakhs to the War Loan and amounts subscribed to various funds and for the conduct of the war totaled nearly 10 Lakhs. Help was also given in enlisting the recruits for the British army and nearly 500 men joined the army, concessions being given to the army recruits and men of the labour corps. Permission was given for the export of mica from the mines. When required the Imperial Service Lancers were sent to Deolali. His Highness' loyalty has always been applauded by Royal personages and successive Viceroys.

5.1 Modernisation of Mewar State –

The modern education began in the Mewar State under British pressure with the establishment of a primary school in 1863 in the Udaipur City. This institution developed as a High School in 1885 and was named 'Maharana High School'.[1] The establishment of this school popularized modern education in Mewar and as a patronage by 1947. In 1880, two branch schools namely, Brahmpuri Branch School and Kushapol Branch Schools were opened in Udaipur city. The Fateh Bhupal Bhram Vidyalaya (1930) was oriental learning prepared students for the Acharya and Shastri Degrees of the Government Sanskrit College, Banaras as well as for the Avurvedic Examination of Poona. Bedises, the Numberdar Middle School (1934) and Harijan School (1940) were among the important institutions which were established in the city of Udaipur. Further, the state Government made provision for collegiate education for boys by opeing an intermediate college in 1922. In 1945, this collage was upgraded to a degree college and was named as the Maharana Bhupal College.[2] In 1946, LL. B. course was also provided in this college. Thus, the Mewar State provided in its capital city of Udaipur the facility to the boys for education from primary to the collegiate level- a privilege which was denied to the people residing in the far-flung districts and jagir areas.

In 1872, the Mewar State extended educational facilities in the districts, by opening schools at Bhilwara and Chittor which were raised to secondary standard in 1907-08. In 1941-42 the total number of schools in the districts and rural areas swelled to 415, out of which 340 were primary schools (42 for girls).[3] Besides, the state Government also established schools for the backward classes at Jawar (1883). Bhilwara (1940) and Chittor (1942). In 1947, among the thikanas of Mewar State,

there existed primary schools in Gogunda (1931), Salumber (1944) and Delwara, middle schools in Bhinder (1943) and Devgarh (1947) and a High School (1934) in Nathdwara.[4] Thus, the State Government provided educational facilities in the districts and rural areas only upto middle standard except in Bhilwara, Chittor and Nathdwara where High Schools were established. In this manner, the majority of the people of the districts and villages were deprived of the facility to receive education even up to High School.

The Christian Missionaries – the United Presbyterian Mission and the Church Mission Society also worked side by side with the State Education Department for the expansion of education in Mewar. However, these missions mainly concentrated in the rural areas. The United Presbyterian Mission selected Mewar for its educational activities. It opened a co-educational primary school at Ganesh Ghati, in Udaipur city.[5] By 1900, it also established seven schools for boys at Bedla, Bhuwana, Kanpur, Nai, Ahar, Bhilwara and Mavli. By 1905, the Mission had established four Mission girls schools in Mewar, out of them, one was in Udaipur city and the remaining were at Bedla, Mavli and Bhilwara. The Presbyterian Mission also opened Bhil Boys Home in 1886 for giving them educational facilities. In 1885, the Church Mission Society had also established the first tribal girls school at Kherwara in the Mewar Hills Tract.[6] In 1913, this Mission also started a primary school for the benefit of Bhils at Pipleti. Thus, the Christian Missionaries Specially worked for the promotion of education for women and the tribals in Mewar. This benefited the Bhils and infused self-confidence among them.[7]

5.2 The Development of Modern Education In Mewar –

The Christian Missionaries became active in their work of evangelization in the Rajputana States after 1860.[8] It cannot be denied that education and medical aid given by them to the people were a means for evangelization. With this aim, they established Missions in various States of Rajputana. The main aim of the Missionaries was conversion and they considered education as the best means to convert people of Christianity.

In the State of Mewar, the Presbyterian Mission had established their Missions. Despite their best efforts, they could not make themselves very effective in the work of evangelization in this State. Of course, the people were benefitted from their educational and philanthropic activieies. Among the private organizations in Mewar, the United Presbyterian Mission and the Chruch Mission Society were the first to give lead in establishing schools in rural areas for Bhil boys and girls.

5.3 Educational Work of the United Presbyterian Mission –

The United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland concentrated its activities in the region of Rajputana, which was not occupied by other mission till 1860. It opened a girls school at Nasirabad in 1862. By 1872, under the leadership of Rev. W. Schoolbred it had established missions at Jaipur, Ajmer, Nasirabad, Deoli and Tadgarh. It had 67 schools and 2032 make and female pupils.[9] This measure of success during a short period of twelve years encouraged the United Presbyterian Mission to expand its activities in Mewar.

5.3.1 Anglo – Vernacular School –

The United Prebyterian Mission secured a foothold in Mewar due to the personal efforts of Dr. James Shepherd, the Medical Missionary. He arrived at Udaipur in November, 1877. He established a dispensary and some schools in the Udaipur city, and its adjoining area. The Mission school in the Udaipur city was started both for boys and girls at the Ganesh Ghati. At first, it confined teaching to the elementary stage, but on the demad of the students, it was raised to a higher grade of teaching. On the increase in the number of boys and girls students in the school, the classes became large and it had absolutely become impossible to work in the small accommodation. Therefore, the old school was retained for girls and the boys were transferred to a new building in the Dhan Mandi Nal.

The Mission School, which was originally a Vernacular school showed such a marked success that it was raised to the status of an Anglo – Vernacular School. It was due to Dr. Shepherd's efforts that Mission became the pioneering agency in the expansion of education in Udaipur. By 1900, the Mission had succeeded in establishing 1 Boy Anglo – Vernacular School in Udaipur city with 241 boys. The paucity of funds, nonavailability of teachers and the distressing condition created by the famine of 1899 – 1900, compelled the Mission to reduce their Anglo Vernacular to the Status of a primary Vernacular School in 1900.[10]

5.3.2 Vernacular Schools –

(a) Boys Education : The educational activities of the Mission made a favourable impact in Mewar as a result of which it extended its activities beyond the limits of the city of Udaipur. Vernacular Schools were, therefore, opened in Bedla, Bhawana, Kanpur, NaiAhar, Bhilwara and Mavli. These vernacular schools rendered valuable service to the illiterate

classes of Mewar State by breaking the apathy of people against the education of boys and girls . The following statement shows the progress of the Mission Primary schools for boys in Mewar for the year 1904-5.[11]

S.No.	Institution for boys	Average daily attendance
1.	Udaipur City	132
2.	Bhil Boy's Home	17
3.	Ahar School	35
4.	Bedla School	30

(b) Girls Education : The Udaipur branch of the United Presbyterian Mission performed excellent work in Mewar for the training and education of girls. Expansion of female education in Mewar, like elsewhere in Rajasthan was an uphill task, but the tenacity of Dr. Shepherd enabled him to make a begininning of girls education in the conservative society of Mewar. He opened the first school for girls with the help of some devoted Christian women teachers. In the beginning, the little girls were induced to attend the school by the attraction of receiving one pie for each days attendance. In 1905, there were four Mission Girls Schools in Mewar. The details about them are as follows :-

S.No.	Name of Institution	No. of girls students
1.	Udaipur City	85
2.	Bedla School	12
3.	Mavli School	25
4.	Bhilwara School	17

In 1912, the number of Mission girls schools rose to five, out of them two were located in the city of Udaipur and the remaining were at

Mavli, Ahar and Bhilwara . The total expenditure on boys and girls education was Rs. 4, 145. This was a good progress in view of the general apathy of the people towards female education. During the next three decades there was scarcely any other girls school in Udaipur except those run by the Mission. This state of girls education compels one to give main credit for the beginning of modern education for girls in Mewar to the Christian Missionaries.

(c) Bhil boy's Home :- Dr. Shepherd also took keen interest in extending educational facilities among the Bhils as a means for amelioration their social condition. A number of orphan Bhil girls and boys secured during the famies or epidemics were given shelter in this home. Dr shepherd opened a Home for Bhil boys at Kherwara in 1886 with a number of 27 inmates. This number of inmates rose to 379 in June 1899 but it again fell to 183 at the close of the year 1900. This large diminution was partly due to the recruitment of the Bhils for the contingent at Beawar, transfer of some inmates to Ashapura orphanage and the spread of epidemic among the inmates of the Bhil Home. Above this, some of the tribals demonstrated their apathy to education by taking back their children to their homes. A few number of inmates also showed repagance for education by running away from the Bhil Home.[12]

The inmates of the Home were given elementary education and Vocational training. Classes in the Bhil Boys Home were properly arranged and as a result of which the inmates made a good progress. Many of them were deputed to the hospital at Udaipur to learn the compounder's work and others were appointed as apprentices in the Mewar State workshops. Besides, the Bhil boys were sent to other Mission Schools for their further studies. In 1902, eight Bhill boys were sent to Udaipur for the purpose of study and eleven boys joined the

Normal School, Beawar. In 1913, the church Missionary Society of Kherwara handed over their school – house at Pipleti, to the Presbyterian Mission Dr. Shepherd also opened the Bhil Mission and a primary school there. These institutions became important centres of Christian missionary activities among the Bhils.

Thus, the Bhil boys Home and the Pipteli Bhil Mission were two of the most notable achievements of the united Presbyterian. Mission, in the field of educational and social uplift of the Bhil population in Mewar. These institutions had a civilizing influence on the Bhil population and they helped in amelioration their social and economic condition.

5.4 Educational Work of the Chruch Mission Society –

Like the Presbyterian Mission, the church Mission Society had also chosen Mewar State as a centre of its activities. The Church Mission Society opened a Bhil girls school in 1885 at kherwara.[13] This school was the first tribal girls school in Rajasthan. In 1908, the Church Mission Society Maintained three boys' schools at Kherwara, Kagdar and Kalbal with a strength of 60 boys on roll. The total expenditure on these schools was Rs. 350 a month. All these schools were of lower primary standard. The total number of Bhil schools maintained by the church Mission Society was eight.

There were many distinctive features of the Missionary education in Mewar State. In the first place. Missionaries were the first to penetrate into the rural areas for extending education facilities to the tribal and other people. It is and important feature of the Missionary educational enterprise in Mewar that Vernacular language was adopted as a medium of instruction and not the English language. This made it possible for the missionaries to lay the foundation of the Modern educational system in

the urban and rural areas of Mewar State Another remarkable feature of the Missionary educational enterprise was the promotionof Women's education, which even to-day has been extended to a very minor portion of the population. They also have the credit of initiating co-education for the first time in Mewar with the aim of curtailing expenses on education. The Missionaries also facilitated the growth of modern education in Mewar by securing systematic training to teachers of Mission schools. It would not be exaggeration to say that the Missionaries laid down the foundation of modern system of education. A task which was very difficult in a conservative and backward society of Mewar.

It must be admitted that Missionaries made significant eontribution to the education of Bhils and others in Mewar. It can hardly be denied that the Bhils were immensely benefited from this type of education as it inculcated self confidence and self reliance in them.

5.5 Suggestion for further research study –

In further the following areas may be chosen for research –

1) Life and works of Tantia.

2) Mewar and the British Relation from 1818 to 1857.

3) Role of Ahuwa in Indian Mutiny.

4) Selections from Mahikantha Political Agency related to Indian Mutiny.

5) Selections from Abu records related to Mutiny in Rajputana.

6) Political awareness in Princly States in Rajputana from 1818 – 1857 A.D.

7) Mewar under crown (1858 – 1947) an appraisal.

8) Mewar and The Maratha Relation (1761 – 1818)

9) Sindhia and Holkar Rivalry in Central India and its impact on the states of Rajputana.

10) Role of Amir Khan Pindari in refrence to Maratha incursion in Rajputana.

11) Mewar Maharana Bhim Singh's relation with the Maratha and British.

12) Freedom Movement in Sabarkantha from 1905 – 1947.

13) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Rajputana.

14) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Gujarat.

15) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Upper Provinces (U.P.).

16) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Bombay State.

17) Role of Christian Missionerise in Development of Health and Education in Mewar State.

18) Legacy of British Rule – A Critical Study.

SUMMARY

Mewar State and Indian Mutiny of 1857 A.D. : A Historical Study

Major Objectives of The Research –

In context of selected topic of study as cited above and the research problem emerged from this brief account sited above and main objective of the study are as follows :

1. To find out the documents related the topic primary and secondary lavel sources of “Missing Chapter of Indian Mutiny, Which were not included in “Blue of Indian Mutiny.”

2. To find out the causes and results of Indian Mutiny in context of Mewar History.

3. To find out the major events related to this topic and also to discuss the contemporary records, reports, official letters, and other local literary sources to draw conclusion.

4. To describe the echoes of revolt of 1857 in special refrence to Mewar and its neighbouring states like Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh and central province [Present M.P. and Idar, Palanpur State[GUJRAT]

5. To find out the role and activities of important personalities like Tantia Tope, and Thakur Khushal Singh of Ahua who fought till the end of Mutiny that was supposed by the British force.

6. To find out the British Policies and their impects on social reforms in Mewar State.

7. To illustrate the historical person and places in Mewar British during the period 1818 to 1858.

8. To discuss the British administrative policies and their consequences as

    1. Prohibition of Sati.

    2. Probhition of Samadhi, Santhara etc.

    3. Probhition of witch swinging.

    4. Extentation of British Educational System.

    5. Land Settlement and other construction work like roads, railway, postal services, health and medical services.

    6. Senses work of population, animals, forest etc.

Research Method Used and Techniques –

1) Historical Method –

Researcher has used the historical method and documentary study for the data collection on the selected problem which is justified for this study which is based on past events.

2) Techniques –

Researcher used a survey method to find out data and informations of this selected research topic. For this I have used a questioner to be acquainted the facts and figures of Mutiny. I used this tool to consult local persons, elders, leading personalities and local historians of Mewar.

Summary –

1) Loyalty of Mewar State –

Since the Treaty was concluded between the British Government and the State of Mewar all the Maharanas, have been most loyal not only in words but deeds to the British Government, and His Highness has followed the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors. The loyalty expressed and the help rendered in the Mutiny of 1857 have been well described by General Showers in his book "The Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny." The coinage of the State bears the words "Dosti London" (friendship with London) inscribed some 70 years ago. When sedition and anarchist propaganda were gaining ground in India. Lord Minto addressed the Durbars of Native States on the subject. His Highness extended his sympathy and support to the Government on that occasion. His Highness raised an Imperial Service squadron of cavalry and built commodious barracks for it. In the great world war His Highness also showed his loyalty in many ways. Mewar contributed nearly 13 Lakhs to the War Loan and amounts subscribed to various funds and for the conduct of the war totalled nearly 10 Lakhs. Help was also given in enlisting the recruits for the British army and nearly 500 men joined the army, concessions being given to the army recruits and men of the labour corps. Permission was given for the export of mica from the mines. When required the Imperial Service Lancers were sent to Deolali. His Highness' loyalty has always been applauded by Royal personages and successive Viceroys.

This help by the Maharana paved way for the modernization of Rajaputana area.

2) Modernisation of Mewar State –

The modern education began in the Mewar State under British pressure with the establishment of a primary school in 1863 in the Udaipur City. This institution developed as a High School in 1885 and was named ‘Maharana High School’. The establishment of this school popularized modern education in Mewar and as a patronage by 1947. In 1880, two branch schools namely, Brahmpuri Branch School and Kushapol Branch Schools were opened in Udaipur city. The Fateh Bhupal Bhram Vidyalaya (1930) was oriental learning prepared students for the Acharya and Shastri Degrees of the Government Sanskrit College, Banaras as well as for the Avurvedic Examination of Poona. Bedises, the Numberdar Middle School (1934) and Harijan School (1940) were among the important institutions which were established in the city of Udaipur. Further, the state Government made provision for collegiate education for boys by opeing an intermediate college in 1922. In 1945, this collage was upgraded to a degree college and was named as the Maharana Bhupal College. In 1946, LL. B. course was also provided in this college. Thus, the Mewar State provided in its capital city of Udaipur the facility to the boys for education from primary to the collegiate level- a privilege which was denied to the people residing in the far-flung districts and jagir areas.

Of course, in 1872, the Mewar State extended educational facilities in the districts, by opening schools at Bhilwara and Chittor which were raised to secondary standard in 1907-08. In 1941-42 the total number of schools in the districts and rural areas swelled to 415, out of which 340 were primary schools (42 for girls). Besides, the state Government also established schools for the backward classes at Jawar (1883). Bhilwara (1940) and Chittor (1942). In 1947, among the thikanas of Mewar State,

there existed primary schools in Gogunda (1931), Salumber (1944) and Delwara, middle schools in Bhinder (1943) and Devgarh (1947) and a High School (1934) in Nathdwara. Thus, the State Government provided educational facilities in the districts and rural areas only upto middle standard except in Bhilwara, Chittor and Nathdwara where High Schools were established. In this manner, the majority of the people of the districts and villages were deprived of the facility to receive education even up to High School.

The Christian Missionaries – the United Presbyterian Mission and the Church Mission Society also worked side by side with the State Education Department for the expansion of education in Mewar. However, these missions mainly concentrated in the rural areas. The United Presbyterian Mission selected Mewar for its educational activities. It opened a co-educational primary school at Ganesh Ghati, in Udaipur city. By 1900, it also established seven schools for boys at Bedla, Bhuwana, Kanpur, Nai, Ahar, Bhilwara and Mavli. By 1905, the Mission had established four Mission girls schools in Mewar, out of them, one was in Udaipur city and the remaining were at Bedla, Mavli and Bhilwara. The Presbyterian Mission also opened Bhil Boys Home in 1886 for giving them educational facilities. In 1885, the Church Mission Society had also established the first tribal girls school at Kherwara in the Mewar Hills Tract. In 1913, this Mission also started a primary school for the benefit of Bhils at Pipleti. Thus, the Christian Missionaries Specially worked for the promotion of education for women and the tribals in Mewar. This benefited the Bhils and infused self-confidence among them.

3) The Development of Modern Education In Mewar –

The Christian Missionaries became active in their work of evangelization in the Rajputana States after 1860. It cannot be denied that education and medical aid given by them to the people were a means for evangelization. With this aim, they established Missions in various States of Rajputana. The main aim of the Missionaries was conversion and they considered education as the best means to convert people of Christianity.

In the State of Mewar, the Presbyterian Mission had established their Missions. Despite their best efforts, they could not make themselves very effective in the work of evangelization in this State. Of course, the people were benefitted from their educational and philanthropic activieies. Among the private organizations in Mewar, the United Presbyterian Mission and the Chruch Mission Society were the first to give lead in establishing schools in rural areas for Bhil boys and girls.

4) Educational Work of the United Presbyterian Mission –

The United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland concentrated its activities in the region of Rajputana, which was not occupied by other mission till 1860. It opened a girls school at Nasirabad in 1862. By 1872, under the leadership of Rev. W. Schoolbred it had established missions at Jaipur, Ajmer, Nasirabad, Deoli and Tadgarh. It had 67 schools and 2032 make and female pupils. This measure of success during a short period of twelve years encouraged the United Presbyterian Mission to expand its activities in Mewar.

5) Educational Work of the Chruch Mission Society –

Like the Presbyterian Mission, the church Mission Society had also chosen Mewar State as a centre of its activities. The Church Mission Society opened a Bhil girls school in 1885 at kherwara.[13] This school was the first tribal girls school in Rajasthan. In 1908, the Church Mission Society Maintained three boys' schools at Kherwara, Kagdar and Kalbal with a strength of 60 boys on roll. The total expenditure on these schools was Rs. 350 a month. All these schools were of lower primary standard. The total number of Bhil schools maintained by the church Mission Society was eight.

There were many distinctive features of the Missionary education in Mewar State. In the first place. Missionaries were the first to penetrate into the rural areas for extending education facilities to the tribal and other people. It is and important feature of the Missionary educational enterprise in Mewar that Vernacular language was adopted as a medium of instruction and not the English language. This made it possible for the missionaries to lay the foundation of the Modern educational system in the urban and rural areas of Mewar State Another remarkable feature of the Missionary educational enterprise was the promotionof Women's education, which even to-day has been extended to a very minor portion of the population. They also have the credit of initiating co-education for the first time in Mewar with the aim of curtailing expenses on education. The Missionaries also facilitated the growth of modern education in Mewar by securing systematic training to teachers of Mission schools. It would not be exaggeration to say that the Missionaries laid down the foundation of modern system of education. A task which was very difficult in a conservative and backward society of Mewar.

It must be admitted that Missionaries made significant eontribution to the education of Bhils and others in Mewar. It can hardly be denied that the Bhils were immensely benefited from this type of education as it inculcated self confidence and self reliance in them.

6) Suggestion for further research study –

In further the following areas may be chosen for research –

1) Life and works of Tantia.

2) Mewar and the British Relation from 1818 to 1857.

3) Role of Ahuwa in Indian Mutiny.

4) Selections from Mahikantha Political Agency related to Indian Mutiny.

5) Selections from Abu records related to Mutiny in Rajputana.

6) Political awareness in Princly States in Rajputana from 1818 – 1857 A.D.

7) Mewar under crown (1858 – 1947) an appraisal.

8) Mewar and The Maratha Relation (1761 – 1818)

9) Sindhia and Holkar Rivalry in Central India and its impact on the states of Rajputana.

10) Role of Amir Khan Pindari in refrence to Maratha incursion in Rajputana.

11) Mewar Maharana Bhim Singh's relation with the Maratha and British.

12) Freedom Movement in Sabarkantha from 1905 – 1947.

13) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Rajputana.

14) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Gujarat.

15) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Upper Provinces (U.P.).

16) Role of Teacher's in Freedom Movement in Bombay State.

17) Role of Christian Missionerise in Development of Health and Education in Mewar State.

18) Legacy of British Rule – A Critical Study.